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JPRS-SSA-87-010

9 FEBRUARY 1987

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

19980612 129

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ANGOLA

DOS SANTOS APPOINTS, DISMISSES OFFICIALS

MB311359 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 31 Dec 86

[Text] Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the republic, has issued the following decrees:

For administrative reasons and under the terms of Paragraph D of Article 53 of the Constitution, I hereby appoint the following officials:

Comrade Pedro da Cunha Neto as vice governor of the National Bank of Angola;

Comrade Francisco Manuel (Branel) as assistant provincial commissar of Lunda Norte; and

Comrade Armando Ferramenta as assistant provincial commissar of Cuanza Sul.

Issued by the Office of the President of the People's Republic of Angola in Luanda on 16 December 1986.

For administrative reasons and under the terms of Paragraph D of Article 53 of the Constitution, I hereby appoint Comrade Pompeu Antonio Tony as assistant provincial commissar of Namibe.

Issued by the Office of the President of the People's Republic of Angola in Luanda on 18 December 1986.

For administrative reasons and under the terms of Paragraph D of Article 53 of the Constitution I appoint Comrade Paulo Lucas as assistant provincial commissar of Huila.

Issued by the Office of the President of the People's Republic of Angola in Luanda on 27 December 1986.

For administrative reasons and under the terms of Paragraph D of Article 53 of the Constitution, I hereby relieve the following officials of their duties:

Comrade Antonio Narciso, assistant provincial commissar of Cuanza Sul, who had been appointed by Decree No 71 of 9 June 1981;

Comrade Bernardo Sumba, assistant provincial commissar of Lunda Norte, who had been appointed by Decree No 33 of 16 April 1980; and

Comrade Jose Sumbo, assistant provincial commissar of Huila, who had been appointed by Decree No 22 of 11 July 1983.

Issued by the Office of the President of the People's Republic of Angola in Luanda on 16 December 1986. For administrative reasons and under the terms of Paragraph D of Article 53 of the Constitution, I hereby relieve Comrade Daniel Justino Sampaio of his post as assistant provincial commissar of Huila, to which he was appointed by Decree No 12 of 29 April 1985.

Issued by the Office of the President of the People's Republic of Angola in Luanda on 27 december 1986.

/12624
CSO: 3400/779

BRIEFS

SAVIMBI SAYS WAR INTENSIFYING--Free Land of Angola, 10 Jan (KUP)--In a vain attempt to confine UNITA to the liberated territory, the FAPLA forces are in fact exhausting themselves in a rainy season offensive. The results are and will continue to be poor, UNITA President Dr Savimbi said when he reviewed UNITA's military activities last year. Dr. Savimbi also cited a number of UNITA's military successes in 1986, notably the attack against Cabinda airport, on the country's northern provinces, and on Lunda Province's diamond mines, which forced the MPLA-Labor Party to request the presence of special British forces, the SAS, who came to Angola to kill Angolans, like Soviets and the Cubans. The war has intensified on the central plateau, along the coast, and in Huila Province. All this shows the weakness of the security forces of a government that has neither the administrative structures nor the economic strength to support its soldiers on the war front, Dr Savimbi said. [Text] [(Clandestine) KUP in French to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 10 Jan 87 MB] /12624

CSO: 3400/779

PRESIDENT AHMED ABDALLAH INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC ISSUES

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 22 Nov 86 pp 8, 9

[Text]

President Ahmed Abdallah, in Paris after attending the Franco-African summit in Lome, talked to The Indian Ocean Newsletter on November 18 about the situation in the Comoros.

THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER: There are rumours in the Comoros that you are intending calling early elections shortly after the federal assembly votes on the budget. Is this a fact? Will you allow unrestricted candidacies or will they require the approval of the Union Comorienne pour le Progrès?

AHMED ABDALLAH: The elections will be held on the scheduled date, in March or April. Everybody will be entitled to stand. The UCP no longer exists, or rather it exists only in name.

I.O.N.: Candidates of the Union pour une République Démocratique aux Comores or the Front Démocratique, for example, will therefore be able to stand under their own party labels?

A.A.: Yes, perfectly well. But will the Front Démocratique have any candidate to put up?

I.O.N.: Are you not running a risk in doing this?

A.A.: The day I no longer have the support of the majority I will depart. But that is not the case now. If I lose the elections, that is too bad. François Mitterrand does not have a majority in parliament but he is president. I hope to have the majority.

I.O.N.: If you agree to free elections, in that case why did you order the arrest of the URDC activists who were brandishing banners when the French prime minister Jacques Chirac visited Moroni?

A.A.: I did not order their arrest. But I cannot allow my guest to be given a bad welcome or attacked. The village of Hahaya laid a complaint against those who demonstrated there. It was not the State which had them arrested.

I.O.N.: Do you not think that you suffered political harm by not raising the question of Mayotte with Mr Chirac when he was coming from there?

A.A.: Opponents could hold that against me, but that is my affair. I have brought up the subject of Mayotte several times with Mr Chirac in France and elsewhere. I felt that there was no point in talking to him about it. He came to see the Comoros, it was not the moment to discuss Mayotte with him.

I.O.N.: Will France increase its aid to your country?

A.A.: It is not because we did not talk of Mayotte on that occasion that Paris will increase its aid. We raise this problem regularly.

I.O.N.: There was recently a conflict between yourself and the Kalfane company over vanilla sales. Do you consider that you have emerged the winner from this?

A.A.: I can not allow myself to be ridiculed by Mr Kalfane, who flouts the agreement between the vanilla producers (Madagascar, Comoros, Réunion) and the purchasers in Europe and the United States, when he himself is a party to it.

I.O.N.: Were you surprised by the support he received from the opposition?

A.A.: My opponents took Mr Kalfane's side in the hope that they would be given financial support.

I.O.N.: Why did you have your former minister Antoy Abdou arrested?

A.A.: He provoked the people of Anjouan and made insulting statements.

I.O.N.: What is your explanation of the arson of the Fombouni school?

A.A.: The pupils were not responsible. It was the work of the opposition. The school has in any case been reopened.

I.O.N.: Are the Comorian youth not a major question for your regime?

A.A.: No, the young people are not attached to any regime. They are open-minded. But I am not worried. If they want to kill me, there I am. But what wrong have I done that anyone should want to kill me?

I.O.N.: Do all these strikes in the schools not worry you?

A.A.: I am used to it. I will not give in to the students of the M'vouni training college. Their study grants are higher than those of the students sent to Togo or Senegal. They will not be increased.

I.O.N.: A few months ago you had a fundamentalist preacher arrested. Since then this movement has slackened. Do you think this situation will last?

A.A.: The Comorians are all Moslems. We have the same ritual in the four islands. There is no need for fundamentalism.

I.O.N.: Once the construction of four South African hotels is finished, does the influx of tourists not threaten to provoke reactions from religious circles?

A.A.: They are not South African hotels. French, British and Comorian interests have a share in the capital. The BIAO, for example, is French. The largest shareholders will be the British, followed by the Comorians, then by the French and the South Africans.

I.O.N.: Did the mercenary Bob Denard play a role in the signing of the contract?

A.A.: None.

I.O.N.: After the adoption of sanctions against South Africa by the Non-Aligned Movement and the United States, have you been approached to allow South African Airways to land in the Comoros?

A.A.: No, but if we were asked we would not refuse. We are against apartheid but we are a poor country and we cannot reject aid which is offered to us. The South Africans are everywhere, in Mauritius, Réunion, Madagascar, why should they not be in the Comoros?

/9317

CSO: 3400/760

BRIEFS

FRENCH FUNDING--France is to fund three projects in the Indian Ocean region through its Caisse Centrale de Cooperation Economique. The CCCE has allocated 58 million francs (about 6.2 million dollars) for improving the electricity supply in the Comoros, particularly in Grand Comoro and Anjouan, to cope with the expected increase in demand from the hotel projects being funded by South African investors. The Voidjou power station is to be given a fifth diesel generator, of 2,250 kilowatts and the Anjouan station is to be replaced by a new plant of three 800 kw. generators. In Madagascar, the CCCE is to provide 17.6 million French francs for the rehabilitation of 2,100 hectares of irrigated land at Ambohibary, near Antsirabe. In Mauritius, France will contribute 25 million francs towards a hangar for the ATR-42 short-range airliner bought with French finance and workshops for maintenance. The total cost of these facilities comes to 36.28 million francs. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 15 Nov 86 p 7] /9274

M'VOUNI COLLEGE STUDENTS STRIKE--The students of the M'vouni college of higher education in Grand Comoro are on strike. The government has refused to satisfy their financial demands and ordered the closure until further notice of the college, which trains teachers for the archipelago's rural schools in a two-year course. Also, a deliberate fire caused serious damage at the Foubouni school. The government suspects the opposition and 17 people, including 14 pupils, have been arrested. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 22 Nov 86 p 3] /9317

1987 BUDGET-- The Comorian minister for finance and the economy, Said Ahmed Said Ali, submitted his budget proposals for 1987 to the country's parliament on November 13. The operating budget provides for revenue of nine billion Comorian francs and expenditure at 11 billion. As usual, the shortfall of two billion francs will be met from French budgetary aid. Capital expenditure, all of which is met from outside sources, is put at 10 billion francs. In his speech to parliament Mr Said Ali said 1987 would be "a year of austerity, which will see in particular retrenchment of staff and a freeze on promotions and recruitment in the civil service." [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 22 Nov 86 p 6] /9317

CSO: 3400/760

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

BRIEFS

PLANE CRASH KILLS 18--Madrid, 3 Jan (AFP)--Eighteen people--including 11 Spanish priests and nuns and four sons of Equatorial Guinea's education minister--were killed when their plane crashed into the sea after taking off Friday from the Equatorial Guinean town of Bata, Spanish officials said here. The plane was a Spanish Aviocar military aircraft used to ferry supplies as part of an economic aid program. There were no survivors. The three crew members--two Spanish air force captains and a sub-lieutenant--were among the dead. The only Equatorial Guineans aboard were the four sons of education minister Fortunato Azambi Macainde, the officials said. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 0051 GMT 3 Jan 87 AU] /12624

CSO: 3400/769

IMF AGREEMENT CONDITIONS VIEWED

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 15 Nov 86 p 8

[Text] An International Monetary Fund monitoring team is expected to arrive in Antananarivo on November 19. It will make sure that the conditions imposed by the IMF for last September's agreement to provide 30 million Special Drawing Rights over the next 17 months have been met (see ION No 249). A second review will be carried out in May 1987.

I.O.N. - According to an IMF internal document relating to this loan, details of which have become known to THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER, some administrators, notably West Germany, the United States and Britain, have voiced concern at Madagascar's poor economic performance after five structural adjustment agreements with the IMF. The document stressed in particular that moves to raise prices paid to producers would only really have an incentive effect if accompanying measures, notably an improvement in transport services and roads to productive regions. In this respect, the IMF said, the World Bank could play a major role.

The rigidity of the Malagasy administration, both in regard to trade regulations and allocation of foreign currency, are partly responsible, according to the IMF, for the country's inability over the past five years to foster the development of exports by a substantial amount. As a result, Madagascar has been forced to seek to balance its external accounts by cutting its imports by half. The structural adjustment plan adopted last September therefore has two principal objectives: to substitute local production for imports of rice, and to boost the export of agricultural produce.

During its stay the IMF team will be given the list of 36 state-owned companies to be restructured, either by being broken up or partially privatised. The reform of the banking system, which is entirely under state control, is also on the agenda, but private participation in this sector seems to be ruled out for the moment as it is forbidden by the constitution, and also because Madagascar's banks are totally incapable of meeting any competition. Their reorganisation should be a priority for both the IMF and the government. At present the interest rate being applied by Madagascar's banks amounts to 25 percent, including commission.

In addition the government is preparing to lift all restrictions, with a few exceptions, on the price of goods manufactured locally, as well as on exported products. This follows the abolition of state controls on pepper prices and the rise in the price of coffee, vanilla, rice and paddy.

MINISTER FOR TRADE DISCUSSES ECONOMIC SITUATION

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 8 Nov 86 pp 8, 9

[Text]

Georges Solofoson is one of three ministers, the others being Pascal Rakotomovo for finance and Jose Rakotamovo for industry, responsible for implementing the policy of restructuring the economy and allowing in foreign capital which was decided two years ago by President Didier Ratsiraka.

Mr. Solofoson, who does not speak in public very often, is said to have the ear of the head of state. He spoke to The Indian Ocean Newsletter in a 90-minute interview in his Antananarivo office on October 31, covering the situation in Madagascar, the country's foreign trade and the negotiations with the International Monetary Fund.

INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER: Southern Madagascar is suffering from famine and there is talk of 60 to 70 deaths a day. What is the government doing? Will you be asking for international aid?

GEORGES SOLOFOSON: I can neither confirm nor deny those figures, but it is true that there have been deaths. A few people are also dying of hunger in the capital. The problem is not only drought but the lack of purchasing power, because rice and cassava can be found in the south. The government has now decided to send food subsidised by the National Relief Council. We have decided to tackle this problem alone for the moment. It must also be stressed that food aid which we receive from abroad cannot be distributed free, because we are obliged to sell it to fund agricultural projects.

I.O.N.: The cost of rice has not stopped rising. It now costs 500 Malagasy francs per kilo, while the national minimum wage does not exceed 20,000 francs a month. When controls on rice prices were lifted completely last April you said that the State would intervene with buffer stocks to keep prices down. Is it not time to do this?

G.S.: The situation is particularly worrying, but the buffer stocks have still not been constituted. In any case, I cannot disclose the threshold price for intervention which was agreed with the IMF, because we do not want to encourage speculation.

I.O.N.: If the standard of living in Madagascar continues to worsen, do you not think that the churches will harden their opposition?

G.S.: You are asking me a question which it is difficult for me to answer.

I.O.N.: The People's National Assembly has just rejected the project for an institute of management funded by the World Bank. How do you interpret this vote, which observers have called "historic"?

G.S.: This vote proves that our parliament is not just a rubber stamp. It also means that we cannot conclude just any agreement with foreign partners. We must therefore be prudent.

I.O.N.: The negotiation of the last stand-by agreement with the International Monetary Fund was particularly arduous, and ran into difficulties especially with regard to coffee prices. Can you explain why?

G.S.: We are sometimes held up as a "model" in the implementation of economic restructuring agreements with the IMF. But we have the impression that as far as the fund is concerned, the more we behave in a "model" fashion the more concessions are demanded. You talk of coffee: like President Ratsiraka, I am the son of a coffee producer. We are not against raising the price paid to the producer. But the IMF has made us put the price up twice in a single season. It went from 385 francs per kilo to 470, then to 600, so the farmers who sold their crop for 470 think they lost out. The middlemen, meanwhile, have profited. This was blamed on us. Furthermore, just as we were being asked to agree to a new increase, international coffee prices fell. It must be noted, too, that this year we exported 52,000 tonnes of coffee, as against 49,000 tonnes last year.

I.O.N.: You are accused of making strategic use of your vanilla stocks. What is the situation?

G.S.: In Europe people believe that we have too much vanilla. In 1985 we had an exceptional harvest of 1,500 tonnes. But this year we will not exceed 600 tonnes, or a third of last year's crop. Because of vanilla's growth cycle, the harvest is low one year in every three. Next year will be a good one, provided no cyclone hits the vanilla-growing areas. Our management of our stocks will take these factors into consideration. But there is no reason to fear that Madagascar, which is the world's leading producer of vanilla, will decide one day to flood the market with its stocks. At certain times we have had as much as 3,000 tonnes of vanilla. At present we have between 1,000 and 1,200 tonnes.

As for cloves, we will produce 6,000 tonnes in 1986 compared with 8,000 last year, and they will be exported principally to Indonesia.

I.O.N.: Some foreign operators would like to have barter deals. You do not seem to be interested, yet you have such arrangements frequently with the Soviet Union.

G.S.: Bartering is forbidden by our laws, but we have done it when the economic situation has allowed. The oil which we buy from the Soviet Union is not paid for in goods, but through financial agreements. On the other hand we have exchanged cloves for vehicles when we had large stocks, and we did the same with West Germany to obtain Mercedes trucks. The bartering of cloves has now ended because we are selling all our production.

I.O.N.: What about other produce, like cotton, vanilla or some minerals?

G.S.: We have never bartered cotton, coffee or minerals. As for vanilla, its

price is too sensitive. It would be too easy for our partners to overcharge and bring down the price of vanilla.

I.O.N.: Are you planning massive redundancies in State undertakings?

G.S.: Studies on the enterprises to be restructured are not yet complete. It is too early to reply to the question.

I.O.N.: What results does the Malagasy government expect from its invitations to Western investors, particularly French? What limits are you placing on this policy?

G.S.: We are not anticipating a rush of investors to Madagascar. They want to be cautious, and it is better that way. As they want to be sure of getting their dividends back, they will concentrate on exports, they will not be interested in the domestic market. There are many things which have to be done. Take, for example, out of season vegetables. We know how to produce them but we do not have the marketing facilities.

I.O.N.: Do you consider there is a consensus on your policy of looking overseas and restructuring the economy?

G.S.: There is not unanimity. We must take care to listen to the minority which opposed the new investment code. We are having difficulty in making the meaning of our measures understood. As the proverb says, "words are wasted on a starving man". We must be careful and stop ourselves falling into a mood of complacent optimism.

/9274

CSO: 3400/748

FAMINE IN SOUTH DESCRIBED

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 8 Nov 86 p 1

[Text] Several thousand people have died from hunger in southern Madagascar in recent months, with their plight unknown to the outside world. The lack of food in the region of Toamasina is also giving rise to concern. In that area of northeast Madagascar, on the island of Sainte Marie and round Fenoarivo Atsin and Vavatenina, which was hit last March by the cyclone Honorinina, no deaths have yet been reported but more and more people have nothing left but the virtually uneatable root vegetable known as "via." Clove, mango and banana trees and cassava fields have all been uprooted, while the international aid which was sent in great quantities after the disaster has fallen off.

In the south, where not a drop of rain fell between 1985 and last September, people have died in large numbers in the Androy, Mahafaly and Taolagnaro regions. At a press conference in Antananarivo on October 23, which was barely reported by the local media, the figure of 47,520 dead and 200,000 refugees fleeing north from Androy in search of food was put forward by Monja Jaona, a member of parliament who opposed President Didier Ratsiraka in the 1982 presidential election. The figures were impossible to check.

Other places in the south, like Isoanala and Bezaha, are suffering no food shortages. The difference is explained by the almost total lack of roads between the villages. As minister for trade Georges Solofoson has himself admitted (see pp 8-9), the problem is not so much drought as "the lack of purchasing power." In fact, cassava and rice can be bought, but at a price for the latter of 1,500 Malagasy francs per kilo. This is three times the cost of Antananarivo, which is already high. On November 3 the State stepped in with buffer stocks to bring the price down to 450 francs.

In the last three weeks the government seems to have decided to take action and send food into the south, but it still declines to issue an appeal for international aid as Mr Jaona, the leader of the MONIMA party, is demanding. The minister for livestock and forests, Joseph Randrianasolo, who is a southerner, and for agricultural production, Jose Andrianoelison, have just visited the region. The President's AREMA party has also been mobilised, and Antonov transport planes flew in some food last week. In the region allegations are unhesitating against the Procoops, the organisation which supervises

the AREMA's co-operatives and which is headed by Hortense Raveloson Mahasampa, the president's sister-in-law. The Procoops is accused of taking over land which has been deserted by farmers who are starving or who have lost their cattle to "dahalo" rustlers. Local people are also convinced that AREMA is also making them pay for their traditional resistance and support for MONIMA at the last elections.

At the end of October no foreign organisation had yet sent any teams to the south, although a film crew has been there. The famine comes at a time when the Catholic Relief Services, the American charity working with the churches in Madagascar, is considering cutting back its aid because it is tired of almost half its gifts being embezzled by the country's administration.

/9274

CSO: 3400/748

BRIEFS

UNIVERSITY REFORM--The measures for university reform which in theory are to commence with the arrival of the new rector, the former head of the Madagascar Observatory, Professor Rakotondrainibe, have been condemned by staff as well as students. In protest pamphlets distributed by students he has been dubbed "the dragon comet." However, the government believes it has found the right man to carry out the programme for reforming higher education which it is about to undertake under pressure from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Its measures include shedding numbers: 5,200 students will soon be expelled because they have repeated years two or three times. I.O.N.--Certain teachers consider the measures technically acceptable but think that from a political and social point of view they threaten to worsen greatly the current atmosphere of discontent at the university. It is also noteworthy that some departments are being changed into separate institutions. However, these developments seem to conflict with the spirit of law 78-040 which supports socialist education and are considered in some student circles as a "repudiation of the socialist achievements of the university." The pro-government press prefers to speak of "new objectives" (Midi Madagascar) or "quantitative improvement" (Madagascar Matin). [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 22 Nov 86 p 3] /9317

MALNUTRITION CONFIRMED--According to a confidential report by the African Development Fund dated September 1986, of which The Indian Ocean Newsletter has details, between 33 percent and 52 percent of Malagasy children under five are suffering from "quantitative under-feeding." The report also said that the malnutrition is more due to general calory deficiency than a lack of proteins. This confirms the extremely worrying food situation which exists in certain regions of Madagascar, including the capital. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 22 Nov 86 p 6] /9317

TRADE IMPROVES WITH SOVIET UNION--The participation of the Soviet Union in Madagascar's foreign trade went up from one percent to 8.6 percent between 1982 and 1985, according to the latest Malagasy statistics. Eighty percent of Soviet exports to Madagascar last year consisted of oil deliveries. The European Economic Community also saw its share increase from 48.6 percent to 50.6, while Japan fell back to 2.45 percent last year, compared with 5.7 percent three years before. The proportion of imports from France also diminished slightly in the same period, from 34 percent to 32.5 percent. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 22 Nov 86 p 6] /9317

FRANCE TO BUILD LANDING STRIP--France will construct a landing strip next year in the Iles Glorieuses, the archipelago claimed by Madagascar. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 22 Nov 86 p 7] /9317

PROBLEMS OF MALIANS WORKING IN LIBYA

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 16, 21 Oct 86

[16 Oct 86 p 6]

[Article by M. Kante and A. Camara: "Eldorado Isn't What It Used To Be"]

[Text] For most of the Malians we met in Libya, getting to Tripoli was a challenge to be met at any cost, because it meant starting a life of prosperity unavailable anywhere else in the world. Just get there any way you can; the main thing is to stay there. Generally speaking, those who went there seeking their fortunes took one of two roads.

The harder trek lay across the desert. From the various regions of Mali, young people flocked to Gao, whence they headed for Tamanrasset, on the Algerian border. Professional guides, working mainly out of Gao, were paid to lead the emigrants across the desert on donkey or camel or, rarely, by car. The guides' expert knowledge of the desert enabled them to escape the surveillance of local authorities in Mali and Algeria. Once across the border, the travelers passed through Gatt and Gadames, towns located on the Algerian-Libyan border. There, the guides turned back, and the emigrants were left to their own devices.

With the revolution of 1 September 1960 [as published], commonly called al-Fatah, and with the help of oil prospecting, Tripoli, the capital of Libya, became a green metropolis. Many projects were undertaken in housing, road construction and agriculture on behalf of the Libyan people. Carrying out and maintaining these tasks of popular development have required Libya to draw from abroad some of the workers it needed, because the country's population is only 3 million.

Thousands of Egyptians and Tunisians were the first to come. Then Filipinos, Chadians, Guineans, Malians and Moroccans, among others, invaded the Libyan labor market. Over the years, this market has not remained untouched by fallout from the world-wide economic recession and, especially, the drop in oil prices.

One of our fellow citizens, Mr Namory Coulibaly, who has been living in Tripoli since 1969, has experienced the effects of the changing economic situation. He sees two main periods: "When I came here in 1969, the average wage was 150 Libyan dinars (1 Libyan dinar equals \$3.33). That was an enormous sum at the time, and workers could not only put money into savings but also lead a relatively acceptable life. We could also convert as much as 100 percent of our wages into foreign currency. Nor was there any danger that foreign companies would abuse our trust when it came to paying wages on time. At that time there were a lot of good reasons to go to Tripoli.

"But now," Mr Coulibaly adds, "life has become extremely hard for us here in Tripoli. One example of this is the 'yomya-yomya' or 'chade,' which, in the local dialect, refers to day labor that earns 10 to 15 Libyan dinars a day and is relatively more profitable than a monthly salary. That is the kind of work we most commonly perform now."

It is impossible at this point to say how many Malians there are in Libya. The Malian embassy in Tripoli counted 5,000 people at the beginning of 1985, but this figure was too low, because the massive expulsions in June and July of that year revealed that the Malian diaspora was much larger than that. Indeed, almost 11,000 people were forcibly repatriated.

According to estimates at the time, 1,500 Malians remained in Libya after the deportations. Since then, some deportees have returned, and there have even been new arrivals. Malian nationals in Libya can now be estimated at more than 4,000. They are living mainly in Sabha, Bari, Gatt, Benghazi, Missirata and Tripoli.

Some 80 percent of these people are illegals, and this means harsh living conditions in a completely alien social environment.

They are in constant danger of being sent to Zanzur, Tripoli's main prison, before being "shipped out" under military guard to their countries of origin. The permanently insecure status of these "stevedores" is, of course, exploited by some "moudir," or bosses. On this point, it should be noted that these taskmasters belong to private, generally European companies operating in Libya for limited times. Libyan natives are not subjected to such treatment.

We are told that in December 1985, the Turkish home-trade shipping company Cerika, which was headed by one Bassam Mohamed, refused to pay 3 months wages to seven young Malian illegal-immigrant workers. At the outset, Bassam Mohamed promised to get them legal status (an official residence permit contingent on a work contract). But, he said, they first had to serve a probationary period. After 3 months, the workers appealed in turn to the Malian embassy, the Markes Churta (police), and the Libyan Labor Fund to intervene. Unfortunately they did not have the shyster's address, and he slipped between the fingers of the authorities, who normally manage to find just solutions to such frequent problems in Libya.

Young Djakaridia Bamba has been in Tripoli since January 1984, but he already talks like an old hand. "You know, the illegal who makes it to Tripoli can figure he's lucky to be alive. He could have died of hunger or thirst in the desert or been cut down in some ambush where he could escape only by a miracle. On the other hand, once he does arrive in a large town or city, he's haunted by two big problems: rejection, which means harassment and expropriation; and the difficulty in adjusting to Libyan society. Also, the Libyan dinar can't be exchanged, and the prohibition against holding Libyan currency is a real problem for us. That's when we realize we've gone to a lot of trouble for practically nothing. To put it frankly, a good maintenance man in the Ivory Coast is definitely better off moneywise than an immigrant worker in Libya."

[21 Oct 86 p 6]

[Article by M. Kante and A. Camara: "The Embassy as Campground and Workers' Clearing House"]

[Text] Although it is difficult for us to attest to the accuracy of Mr Bamba's conclusion, which is somewhat subjective, we have found two diametrically opposite situations concerning Malians in Libya.

First, the Malians who have a work contract are generally given company housing. If the company belongs to the Libyan government, they also get free board. Those who have an official residence permit can convert 30 to 40 percent of their wages into foreign currency. All others have no chance to exchange money in banks, and exchanging money on the black market is severely punished by the Libyan police. All the workers can do with their earnings is spend them--provided they get the chance, because sales are rationed--in hopes of being able to send their purchases home.

Then there are the "yomya-yomya" or "stevedores"--and remember they account for 80 percent of the Malians in Tripoli--who have a doubly difficult time of it. Not only do they risk being rounded up at any time because their kind of work is prohibited in Libya but they have no housing, either. The workers' centers that used to house them were closed by the authorities last year. What solutions have the workers found to this situation?

Unfortunately, those who have ventured across the Libyan desert have invaded the Malian embassy simply to find a place to stay. It is no exaggeration to say that since July 1985 the "yomya-yomya" have turned the Malian embassy into nothing more or less than a hiring hall for day laborers, something like the railroad yard or Medina Koura in Bamako.

When the great wave of expulsions took place last year, it is reported that there were more than 600 squatters a day at the embassy. They said they were there out of concern for their safety. The ambassador, His Excellency Bakary Drame, organized 11 charter flights to Bamako. Some 8,000 Malians were able to return home. Among them were hundreds of women, children and ill people. The embassy even persuaded the Libyan government to free some Malians from prison so that they could take a plane home. Now there are more than 100 lurking about the embassy or

occupying its hallways during the day. They may or may not have suitcases, and they do not heed the explanations of embassy personnel who try in vain to make them understand that the embassy is only a workplace and not a shelter for Malian emigrants. The bolder ones who do not fear being caught by the police take refuge in the homes of Malian nationals or other Africans they are acquainted with. It should be noted that only married couples may rent houses in Libya.

The language barrier is another, no less important handicap added to the problems facing Malians as soon as they enter this desert country where Arabic is the sole official language. Italian and English are also spoken, but not widely. Malian newcomers are generally uneducated and are lost in this society where, although racism is not found in public and is officially prohibited, the society is very different from Mali's. For example: in Mali, the host brings his guests right into his living room, while in Libya visitors or friends are received outside the house on a special patio designed specifically for this purpose.

In conclusion, it is obvious that the general situation prevailing in Libya offers migrants little hope of getting rich quickly and safely. For some, the low percentage of money that may be exchanged for foreign currency is an obstacle; for others, it is the very impossibility of going to a bank to exchange any money at all. They all face enormous problems in sending their purchases home (mainly household appliances, stereos and television sets). These are factors that should pour cold water on the enthusiasm of those who would seek Eldorado.

However, migrant workers continue to flow into Libya, lured by tenacious illusions. Should they be stopped, at the price of personal freedom? We don't think so. The most that need be done is to neutralize the clandestine guides working along the northern border and enforce the existing labor agreement between Libya and Mali.

Meanwhile, the goodly amount of rainfall that has occurred in Mali in the last 2 years may be a psychological factor in slowing emigration, if indeed the drought and famine that this country has experienced are the main reasons for these poor workers' departures.

Finally, Malians who want to take the "road to Tripoli," as it is commonly referred to, should beware. An electrician, Mr Koumare, married, father of three and a veteran of the Libyan capital cites his own case as a warning: "I have been in Libya since 1977 and have earned a good living. Seeking your fortune in Libya today is a crap-shoot, and you have to realize that there are more chances to lose than to win. I have put down roots and made connections since I came here, but I survived last year's wave of layoffs and expulsions only because the company I work for cannot get along without me. It's as simple as that. I have been getting ready to go back to Mali, no matter what. Whoever wants to come here will have to realize he is playing a lottery. Let a word to the wise be sufficient."

[21 Oct 86 p 6]

[Article by M. Kante: "Labor: What Do the Texts Say?"]

[Text] Mali and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya have an administrative convention on the use of labor. It was signed in Bamako in 1980 and ratified by the two countries 4 years later. It regulates the conditions under which labor moves from Mali to Libya.

The treaty provides that any commitment to work must be submitted to the official agencies in charge of operations and formalities in recruiting workers: the Bureau of Labor Coordination, the Libyan embassy in Mali, and the Labor Office in Mali. The Malian embassy in Libya is, according to the treaty, charged with handling the problems of Malian workers in close collaboration and coordination with the appropriate Libyan authorities. It is also clearly stated that Malian workers may be hired in Libya only if they "possess individual contracts between himself and his employer written in Arabic and French according to the model previously approved by the parties signatory to the present convention."

To provide for the consequences that may arise in executing the work contract, article 5 of this agreement stipulates important employer obligations, especially that of providing the worker a round-trip ticket from Bamako to Tripoli. It is also stated that Malian workers have the right to convert their savings into foreign currency and to send them to Mali.

The people affected are, of course, those who go to Libya under the auspices of this convention. The Libyan authorities authorize the transfer of their earnings according to and in compliance with the exchange regulations in force in their country. In 1980, 90 percent of earnings were transferable if the worker was single and 60 percent, if married.

However, we are unfortunately obliged to note that almost none of the Malians presently living in Libya observe the hiring conditions set forth in this convention, which was signed in a mutual spirit of bilateral cooperation.

As a consequence, the Malian embassy has had to intervene more and more in the lives of Malian nationals. Thus, to enable them to return home, the Malian legation provides them with not only exit visas but plane tickets. A foreigner with irregular status does not have the right to obtain them himself. At present, an average of 28 Malians return home every Friday.

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CSO: 3419/238

WEEKLY VIEWS TACTICS OF OPPOSITION MMM

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 8 Nov 86 p 4

[Text] The politbureau of the opposition Mouvement Militant Mauricien met on November 5 to discuss among other things recent contacts between Jean-Claude de l'Estrac, the party's secretary for external relations and mayor of Beau Bassin/Rose Hill, and prime minister Anerood Jugnauth. These talks, which have given rise to rumours in Mauritius of a possible alliance between Mr Jugnauth's Mouvement Social Mauricien and the MMM, have come just as the leader of the MMM, Paul Berenger, has been stepping up his attacks on the prime minister, accusing him of being "responsible" for links between his government and the big drug dealers.

The report on the differences between Mr Berenger and Mr de l'Estrac which THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER published two weeks ago (ION No 253) has also made waves on the political scene. There is speculation that Mr de l'Estrac might try to force through an agreement with the MSM. The MMM, which is riding high because of allegations of drug dealing and corruption which have tainted the Jugnauth government, has to choose between three strategies in the run-up to a general election: an alliance with the Labour Party if the latter decides to go back into opposition under Nuvin Ramgoolam, the son of its late leader who would be its Hindu "guarantee," an alliance with a purged MSM (an option which is apparently supported by Jean-Claude de l'Estrac), or going it alone, which a number of grass-roots militants would like.

Mr Jugnauth, however, has not said his last word, and could profit from the excellent economic results to make no changes to the existing governing coalition.

/9274

CSO: 3400/748

MAURITIUS

BRIEFS

SUGAR AGREEMENT WITH EEC--An agreement between the EEC and the sugar exporting states of the ACP (African-Caribbean-Pacific) group was concluded on October 31. The price per quintal of raw sugar imported into Europe was put at 44,92 ECUs and of white sugar at 55,39 ECUs. Mauritius remains the EEC's principal supplier with a quota of 490,000 tonnes. This year Mauritian sugar production could exceed 700,000 tonnes, beating the record of 1973. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 8 Nov 86 p 7] /9274

CSO: 3400/748

RSA ALLEGEDLY HANDING REFUGEES OVER TO MNR

MB111706 Harare THE HERALD in English 15 Dec 86 p 11

[Report: "Fleeing Mozambicans Forced into MNR Hands by Pretoria"]

[Text] South Africa is forcing fugitive Mozambicans back into the clutches of the MNR bandits, according to two American documentary photographers who have arrived in Zimbabwe from Johannesburg.

Tony Savino and Cathrine Smith, both from the New York-based Impact Visuals, told THE HERALD at the weekend that Mozambicans fleeing MNR terror found themselves back in the hands of the bandits if they, usually under extreme pressure, crossed into South Africa.

The two, who spent about 10 weeks in South Africa documenting the life of a people under apartheid, said most of the displaced people they had spoken to had told of "a reign of terror" by the South African-backed-bandits.

On the situation in South Africa itself, they did not believe Pretoria would of its own will dismantle apartheid.

"From what we have seen, only a combination of armed attacks, comprehensive mandatory sanctions and other domestic and international pressure will remove that system", said Mr Savino.

It has got to be a multifaceted kind of struggle," he said.

While in South Africa, the two visited many areas, including Crossroads and the black townships in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and other cities and towns.

"It is a police state in every way, with virtually every political organization having members in detention."

On the number of people being killed every day, she said: "It's just genocide which the South African Government is practising."

The two, who leave Harare next week, said they intended using their pictures in a slide show photo exhibition and pictorial book on South Africa.

/12624

CSO: 3400/774

COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH GDR

MB121909 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Hans-Joachim Heusinger, the GDR's Council of Ministers deputy chairman and minister of justice, has described as splendid his visit to our country. He is leading a GDR delegation visiting our country since Wednesday within the framework of cooperation agreement signed in 1981 between the Mozambican and GDR Justice Ministries. Before his departure for the People's Republic of Angola, where he will also hold talks with that country's authorities, Hans-Joachim Heusinger said in an interview with the national media that his visit to our country gave him an opportunity to review the implementation of cooperation protocol established for the last 2 years. He also stressed that the visit enabled him to familiarize himself with the activities of judicial bodies both in Maputo and Manica.

This morning, the GDR delegation was received by Joaquim Chissano, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique. Earlier, Dr Mario Machungo, our country's prime minister, granted an audience to the head of the GDR delegation during which cooperation relations between the GDR and our country were discussed. Also discussed in the meeting was the international situation, particularly the situation in southern Africa and central Europe.

Early this morning [as heard], Justice Ministry delegations from our country and GDR signed a cooperation protocol in the judicial field for this year and 1988. The agreement was signed by our country's justice minister, Ossumane Ali Dauto, and Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger, the GDR's Council of Ministers deputy chairman and minister of justice.

/12624

CSO: 3400/774

ASSEMBLY ACKNOWLEDGES NEW STANDING COMMISSION

[Editorial Report] Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese at 1600 GMT on 13 January carries a live relay of the proceedings of the first session of the Mozambican People's Assembly second legislature.

At 1602 GMT, speaking on the occasion of his swearing-in as the chairman of the People's Assembly, Marcelino dos Santos says that the People's Assembly will continue with the work left by the late President Samora Machel. He adds: "Comrade president, we have created the post of the chairman of the People's Assembly in the second legislature. There is therefore an already opened path, work that has already been carried out." Marcelino dos Santos then salutes all deputies, "wishing them determination, courage, and success in the noble task to serve the people in this new mandate and intensify the struggle against armed bandits, famine, nakedness and underdevelopment, for socialism and peace." Dos Santos concludes his remarks at 1606 GMT.

Following his speech, Dos Santos is congratulated by members of the Political Bureau and other people. At 1610 GMT, Dos Santos says it is now time to elect members of the People's Assembly Standing Commission. "According to the constitution, the People's Assembly Standing Commission is elected by the People's Assembly following a proposal by the Frelimo Party Central Committee. This is what is contained in Article 50 of our constitution, and it was under these terms that, during its sixth session proceedings, the Central Committee drafted the following proposal of deputies to be integrated in the People's Assembly Standing Commission. I shall call on them one by one, requesting them to come and stand here by the presidium. Marcelino dos Santos, Alberto Joaquin Chipande, Jose Oscar Monteiro, Oswaldo Assahel Tazama, Fernando dos Reis Ganhao, Rui Baltazar dos Santos Alves, Augusto Macamo, Raimundo Pachinuapa, Graca Machel -- she is absent, Eduardo da Silva Nihia -- he is absent, Salesio Teodoro Nalyambipano, Feliciano Gundana, Salome Moiane, Antonio Trindade Costley White, Aurelio Manhica, Jorge Mabay Tembe, Samuel Chambuca, Cristiano Paulo Taimo, Salomao Meque Chironda, Afonso Joao.

"Comrade president, deputies, invited guests, that was the Central Committee proposal with regard to the members of the People's Assembly Standing Commission. We would now like to congratulate them all and ask them to return to their seats. Thank you."

The announcer, at 1618 GMT, then says: "That was the Central Committee proposal for the members of the People's Assembly Standing Commission. It is a proposal of 20 members, some of whom -- 8, if I am not mistaken -- were members of the previous Standing Commission of the first legislature."

Marcelino dos Santos returns at 1619 GMT to ask if there are any deputies who would like to vote against or abstain. Then he announces that the People's Assembly Standing Commission has been established following a unanimous vote and thanks participants and guests. Live relay ends at 1623 GMT.

/12624

CSO: 3400/774

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

MNR REPORTEDLY RESTRUCTURING EXTERNAL WING--A former Mozambican ambassador to Portugal has joined the rebel MNR. A Lisbon weekly newspaper says former Ambassador (Joao Ataide), who has been in political exile in Lisbon, has joined the right-wing rebels in what has been described as an overall restructuring of the organization's external wing. And the paper says another top-ranking official could also be joining the organization as part of the new move. It says embassy official and member of the Mozambican security police (Francisco Mascarenhas) is expected to be named as a delegate to the rebel minisummit due to be held soon in central Europe.
[Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 1000 GMT 11 Jan 87 MB] /12624

ANC MEMBERS REMAIN IN COUNTRY--There are reported to be more than a hundred members of the African National Congress still in Mozambique, after a Mozambican Government undertaking to expel 6 ANC activists at South Africa's request. Radio RSA's Lisbon correspondent (?is quoting) diplomatic sources in Portugal, and says, however, that the exact number is difficult to establish, as some ANC members have acquired Mozambican citizenship. Our correspondent says a senior ANC official has claimed that the Mozambican Government would not close down the organization's offices in Maputo and that there are confirmed reports of ANC men in military barracks in the northern Mozambican towns of Inhambane and Nampula.
[Text] [Johannesburg International Service in English 1100 GMT 10 Jan 87 MB] /12624

CSO: 3400/774

BRIEFS

KOUNTCHE RETURNS AFTER MEDICAL TREATMENT--Brigadier General Seyni Kountche, chairman of the Supreme Military Council [CSM] and head of state, returned to Niamey this afternoon from Paris where he underwent medical treatment following his illness on 31 December 1986. Gen Seyni Kountche, accompanied by his wife, was welcomed by the chairman of the National Development Council, Mamane Oumarou, and the chief of staff of the National Armed Forces, Colonel (Ali Kogo). He was later greeted by the members of the government headed by Prime Minister Hamid Algabid as well as members of the CSM and of the diplomatic corps. In order to enable the Niger nation to celebrate with happiness and popular joy the return of the head of state, tomorrow, Monday, 12 January 1987, has been declared a paid holiday throughout the national territory. [Excerpts] [Niamey Domestic Service in French 2150 GMT 11 Jan 87 AB] /12624

CSO: 3400/769

REUNION

BRIEFS

GIANT TELESCOPE PROJECT--Reunion is in competition with Chile as the site of the largest telescope in the world. The possibility was raised in Paris on November 13 by the head of the 13-member European Southern Observatory. The cost of the project is put at one billion francs. While from the technical point of view the Chilean site seems to be preferred, France could use its influence as leader of the ESO to persuade its partners to install the telescope on "European" territory. France has also contributed more than 80 million francs to the project in 1985-86. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 22 Nov 86 p 7] /9317

INDIAN OCEAN REGION PLANS ABANDONED--France's minister responsible for overseas territories, Bernard Pons, has abandoned for the moment the idea of creating an administrative Indian Ocean region containing Reunion, Mayotte, the Scattered Islands and the Southern and Antarctic Territories. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 22 Nov 86 p 7] /9317

CSO: 3400/760

CONSTRUCTION PLAN OF NEW FISHING PORT, INDUSTRIES REPORTED

Kampala NEW VISION in English 9 Dec 86 p 2

[Text] The land area of the Seychelles has grown by more than one square kilometre in one year. A huge dredger, starting work in July 1985, chewed and pumped dead corals from the seabed to add 120 hectares along the east coast to the mainland island of Mahe. The total land area of the island is now 455 square kilometres.

Fast-developing Seychelles had run out of space and the multi-million dollar reclamation scheme became the platform for the launching of the most ambitious package of projects over designed for the island.

Land gained from the sea is providing space for construction of a modern fishing port, the extension of the commercial port, industries, roads, housing and for recreational purposes. These activities, branded the "East Coast Project," are expected to move the Seychelles into the next era of progress just like the international airport, also built on reclaimed land, brought tourism to the island.

The fishing port too deserves mention because it is expected to arm it with the facilities to enable these islands to reap more from the Indian Ocean tuna stocks, a rich resource that is being exploited almost entirely by foreign fleets. A Seychelles Fishing Authority official said the port would become the tuna centre of the Indian Ocean. A modern tuna canning factory, already taking shape on the reclaimed land, alone will employ some 300 people.

Activities at the fishing port, after the installation of the necessary facilities, will enable fisheries to surpass tourism in becoming the most important industry in the economy of the country. It is estimated that the Indian Ocean tuna stocks are worth 250 million dollars annually. Over 70,000 tonnes of tuna are transhipped through Seychelles a year.

The quay is being lengthened to accommodate more ships. Proper ship repair facilities to deal with greater tonnage will be built on part of the reclaimed land. The extension of the commercial port are expected to give added importance to the country's advantageous location in the Indian Ocean, a position which could attract shipping businesses. There have already been

discussions on the possibility of turning Victoria into a transshipment port for goods travelling between Australia and Europe and Africa and Asia.

The land reclaimed by the Belgian dredging company Jan de Nul stretches 4.5 kilometres southward from Port Victoria. On it will be built a portion of a second highway linking the capital to the international airport, ten kilometres away. The new road will speed up traffic flow along the East Coast of Mahe island and reduce congestion on the existing access inland.

Land is a scarce commodity in the Seychelles. The development of agriculture, housing, industries and recreational facilities have always been hampered by the lack of good land. The terrain is difficult, land must be provided for agriculture and the natural beauty must be preserved. The alternative is to push back the sea. Government engineer Alan Lloyd said dredging was the cheapest way of creating new land.

Chief Economist Emmanuel Faure commented that the Government was now monitoring how many people would find work and how much benefit the reclaimed land would bring to the country.

Mahe island, where 85 percent of the country's population live, has a density of 365 persons per square kilometres and government has launched a housing programme to build 500 detached units a year. Housing officials are welcoming the new land gained from the sea to try out a new concept of house construction. Never before has the national housing company acquired such stretches of flat land where building could be laid out neatly and utilities such as water, electricity, and sewerage can be easily installed.

/9274

CS0: 3400/752

SWAZILAND

BRIEFS

POPULATION FIGURES--Mbabane--Swaziland's population is now 706,137 according to provisional figures obtained from the country's second population census held in July. The figures show a 36 percent increase since the country's first census in 1976, representing an annual growth rate of three percent. [Text] [East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 12 Dec 86 p 5] /9274

CSO: 3400/752

TIES WITH DPRK TO BE MAINTAINED

Kampala THE STAR in English 11 Dec 86 pp 3, 7

[Text] The Uganda Government will maintain the existing relationship in economic, technical and scientific fields with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

This was stated by the Prime Minister, Dr Samson Kisekka, when he received the new Ambassador of North Korea, Mr Kim Tae Ryong, who paid a courtesy call on him in his office at the Kampala International Conference Centre yesterday.

The Premier told the Envoy that the new Ugandan Administration of the National Resistance Movement will do its best to make all Ugandans understand their rights, adding that it's for the same reason that the Resistance Committee system of administration was introduced.

He further made it clear that Uganda today is being led by leaders and not officials as was the case in the past. He added that "it's our work as leaders to lead our people to their right destinies."

In reply, the Korean Ambassador told the Prime Minister that his country which is non-aligned like Uganda, and which has been outspoken against imperialism, racism and apartheid will continue to demand for the rights of the oppressed people to self determination and freedom.

He said that North Korea will also continue to assist Uganda under the protocol of economic, technical and scientific signed between Uganda and Korea in 1981.

Mr Kim Tae Ryong was happy to note that Ugandans have started realising harmony and real stability after a war spearheaded by the National Resistance Army.

He thanked the NRM government for the tremendous success they have achieved for the people of Uganda within the short time they have been in Government.

/9317

CSO: 3400/753

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION BEGINS INQUIRY

Kampala THE STAR in English 12 Dec 86 pp 1, 2, 7

[Text] The National Commission of Inquiry Into the Violation of Human Rights in Uganda during the last two decades, was opened yesterday at the International Conference Centre in Kampala by its Chairman, Mr Justice Arthur Oder.

The Commission opened with the public hearing of a case in which a group of more than nine people were murdered at a wedding ceremony in Bulera Gombolola, Mityana sub-district in January last year.

Members of the Commission are Mr Justice Arthur Oder, Mr Edward Khiddu Makubuya, Mr Jack Luyombya, Mr John Kawanga, Mr John Nagenda and Mr John Kakwenzire.

The Commission is to inquire into all aspects of violation of human rights, breaches of the rule of law and excessive abuses of power, committed against persons in Uganda by the regimes in government, their servants, agents or agencies during the last two decades up to 25th January, 1986, and possible ways of preventing the recurrence of these atrocities, and in particular but without limiting the generality of the inquiry, to inquire into,

- (A) the causes and circumstances surrounding the mass murders and all acts or omissions resulting into the arbitrary deprivation of human life, committed in various parts of Uganda,
- (B) the cause and circumstances surrounding the numerous arbitrary arrests, consequent detentions without trial, arbitrary imprisonment and abuse of powers of detention,
- (C) the denial of any person of a fair and public trial before an independent and impartial court established by law,
- (D) the subjection of any person to torture, cruelty inhuman and degrading treatment,
- (E) the manner in which the law-enforcement agents and the State security agencies executed their functions, the extent to which the practice and

procedures employed in the execution such functions may have violated the human rights of any person and the extent to which the State security agencies may have interfered with the functioning of the law-enforcement agents,

(F) the causes and circumstances surrounding the massive displacement of persons and expulsion of people including Uganda citizens from Uganda and the consequent disappearance or presumed death of some of them,

(G) the subjection of any persons to discriminatory treatment by virtue of race, tribe, place of origin, political opinion, creed or sex, by any person acting under any written law or in the performance of the functions of any public office or public authority,

(H) the denial to any person of any other fundamental freedoms and rights prescribed under Chapter III of the Constitution of Uganda or the unlawful interference with the enjoyment by any person in Uganda of the said freedoms and rights.

The Commission shall in the course of its inquiry, so far as is practicable, apply the law of evidence, and shall, in particular, conform with the following instructions, that is to say, that any person desiring to give evidence to the Commission shall do so in person.

Before the Commission was one Godfrey Sekabembe, first witness in the murder case who testified that in his home village Kikube Bulera Gombolola at about 8.30 pm, during his wedding with one Christine Nantege, unidentified armed gang started shooting from the left hand side where he and his bridegroom were seated, which resulted into running of everybody in disarray from the scene. Christine Nantege (17) also testified before the Commission. Hearing continues today.

/9317

CSO: 3400/753

BRIEFS

CONTROL OF PESTICIDES--Lusaka--The Entomological Association of Zambia (EAZ) has suggested the establishment of a pesticides board to monitor the importation and control of pesticides in the country. Dr Dennis Wonchinga EAZ Chairman in an interview yesterday, said that the country had laid itself open to the importation of harmful pesticides from abroad because of the lack of a controlling board to ensure that only tested and a-proved chemicals were used. There was also little control to ensure that the pesticides used did not harm either users, the soils and environment around them. [Text]
[Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 9 Dec 86 p 6] /9274

CSO: 3400/752

HERALD BLAMES RSA FOR DELAYED RAILWAY TAKEOVER

MB190935 Harare THE HERALD in English 9 Jan 87 p 6

[Editorial: "Bantustan Game"]

[Text] It has always been Botswana's ambition to take over the Botswana railway system which is presently owned by the National Railways of Zimbabwe. Negotiations to that effect have been going on for several years and late in 1986 appeared finally to have been successfully concluded.

Then, with only a few days remaining to the take-over ceremony, South Africa, in the guise of Bophuthatswana, threw a spanner into the works by applying the ridiculous condition that Botswana now had to talk to the bantustan administration.

Bophuthatswana, one of the so-called independent homelands created as sovereign republic by the South African regime, is not recognized by any other country in the world except its creator, South Africa.

This has pained South Africa a great deal but, determined as ever, it has continued to look for ways to at least get the puppet bantustan administrators talked to by credible foreign governments.

It is for that reason that the South Africans have been in a hurry to explain their impotence in the matter concerning the railway line. They have played their part in signing the agreement with Zimbabwe and Botswana, they say, and the Bophuthatswana objections have nothing to do with them.

Botswana has been caught in a most awkward position as it has to abide by the condition if the deal is to go through. Failing that, its imports and exports will suffer tremendously as they rely heavily on that railway system. And if Botswana does negotiate with the Bophuthatswana bantustan as an equal, South Africa will have scored a major propaganda coup.

Whether Botswana will choose the devil or the deep blue sea is difficult to predict at the moment. What can be said is that the South Africans can always be relied upon to pull out a new trick from the bag. The men who run the elaborate system of racial segregation called apartheid are no fools. They know exactly what they are doing. We are being caught unawares dangerously too often.

Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei, Venda. The black stooges who run those bantustans are oiling the apartheid machine for the Bothas. They have a stake in the system in that they are personally rewarded. They are more than your average Mr Quislings.

It is a lesson to supporters of the blacks' struggle in South Africa and Namibia.

The gun and the bullet are not the only way to fight an evil system. The South Africans may feel they are finally winning this battle to legitimize Lucas Mangope's "presidency" but they can rest assured that "A Luta continua" [the struggle continues].

/12624

CSO: 3400/784

INDABA PROPOSALS MAY CAUSE 'SERIOUS' REPERCUSSIONS

MB190837 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0832 GMT 19 Jan 87

[Text] Pietermaritzburg 19 Jan (SAPA)--If the Indaba proposals for Kwa Zulu-Natal were implemented there would follow serious socio-economic consequences for the region, the chairman for the Afrikaanse Sakekamer [Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce] and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstitut [Afrikaans Institute of Trade] representative at the Indaba, Mr Chris Hattingh has said. In a statement today, Mr Hattingh said South Africa (and Natal) did not possess the economic strength to "equalize a First World and a Third World economy without the destruction of vested standards and present economic structure." Kwa-Zulu-Natal (as envisaged by the Indaba) might find itself in the same position as many African states which create political expectations which cannot be fulfilled economically. He said the economy of the region would not be able to meet the cost of the Indaba's demand for "total control" within one year.

The committee has also recommended that functions such as health services and education, be adjusted to an average level. Such a step implied a drastic reduction in standards for whites, while no significant improvement in standards for blacks was envisaged, Mr Hattingh said. "The implementation of such a recommendation within one year -- apart from creating totally unrealistic expectations -- will result in serious socio-economic consequences for the region," Mr Hattingh said. It could cause an outflow of capital, skilled labor and managerial expertise and would stimulate the inflow of unskilled people and would lead to an "imbalance which would place severe strain on the existing socio-economic structures with the danger of a total collapse."

Through its inability to give content to "economic reality" the Indaba was guilty of "political opportunism which does not offer a workable solution," Mr Hattingh added.

/12624

CSO: 3400/781

RAJBANSI SAYS WHITE ELECTION 'REASONABLE'

MB311651 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1633 GMT 31 Dec 86

[Embargoed until 1800 GMT 31 December]

[Text] Capte Town, 31 Dec, SAPA--An early general election for whites was "reasonable" seeing the last test of opinion of voters for the House of Assembly had been in April 1981, the chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said tonight.

Commenting on the election announcement earlier by the state president, Mr P.W. Botha, during his television New Year's message, Mr Rajbansi said a general election for Indian voters to coincide with the one for whites would be "too early".

Mr Rajbansi, who is also leader of the majority National People's Party, said he had consulted with the leader of his houses opposition Solidarity party, Dr J.N. Reddy, and they had reached consensus that no election should be held now.

He had also discussed the matter with Mr Botha, but the contents of this discussion were still confidential.

Explaining his view that an election for the House of Delegates now would be premature, Mr Rajbansi pointed out MP's had held their seats for only two and a half years and that although progress had been made, it was too early to present "the fruits of our labor" to voters.

Indian voters had been put to the test during elections for the then SA Indian Council [SAIC], on the same constitutional basis as that for the House of Delegates, in February 1981. There had been an SAIC electoral college election in November that year, and voters had gone to the polls again in August 1984 for the new dispensation.

"In contrast, white voters last went to the polls in April 1981, and I think a general election for the House of Assembly now is reasonable," Mr Rajbansi said.

In terms of the 1984 dispensation, the term of office of the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives only expires towards the end of 1989 -- a five year period.

Mr Rajbansi said that, starting from scratch in the new dispensation, the House of Delegate's administration had been laying down its infrastructure, particularly in the spheres of housing and health.

A problem had been the lack of official expertise in the departments and the need to recruit people with the necessary know-how.

Good progress had been made with laying down the administrations infrastructure over the last two and a half years, but the process "takes time".

"Although we are doing fairly well, it is still too early to see the fruits of our labors, Mr Rajbansi said.

/12624

CSO: 3400/776

BANK OFFICIAL PREDICTS DETERIORATING ECONOMY IN 1987

MB101529 Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 12 Dec 86 p 12

[Report: "'Deteriorating' Economic Scene Forecast for 1987"]

[Text] An assessment of the expected performance of Zimbabwe's economy during 1987/88 paints a picture of a deteriorating balance of payments position, a slower growth in gross domestic product (GDP), and a decline in the volume of manufacturing output in the face of renewed inflationary pressures, high taxes and shortages of imported inputs.

Added to this, says Mr Zdenek Silavecky, group economist with Standard Chartered Merchant Bank, the worsening political situation in southern Africa will "almost inevitably" have an adverse impact on regional investment, economic growth and business performance.

Zimbabwe's overall balance of payments situation, which improved significantly in 1984-85 and 1985/86, is expected to deteriorate in 1986-87 and 1987/88. The country's debt service ratio (foreign debt repayment as a percentage of total foreign currency earnings) will peak at more than 30 percent in 1987/89, "effectively siphoning more than 30 cents on every dollar earned into debt servicing and repayment."

Mr Silavecky said that it was unlikely there would be a "realistic improvement in import allocations before the end of 1989, "taking into account the country's steadily worsening external account position coupled with ever-increasing foreign currency requirements for defence.

"Renewed inflationary pressures, together with continuing high tax rates and the unavailability of many types of imported inputs, have reduced effective demand for manufacturing products. This trend is expected to continue through 1987. The most likely scenario for 1987/88 is that manufacturing volumes will remain static or decline slightly during this period."

Mr Silavecky said that although a number of small and medium sized mining projects will be established during 1987/88, it is however, unlikely that they will increase the overall output in this sector. He added that the volume index of mining production did rise "fractionally" to an average of 93.75 points in the first six months of 1986 compared with 93.42 points for the same period in 1985.

A slowdown in the gross domestic product began in the second quarter of this year due to static or falling retail sales, flat manufacturing and mining output indices and a generally "unexciting" (with the exception of tobacco) agricultural marketing season.

"Statistical evidence so far available for the productive sectors of the economy -- but taking into account rising government expenditure particularly on defence and social services -- point to a real GDP expansion in the region of only about 2 percent this year.

"While much will depend on the outcome of the 1986/87 rainy season," Mr Silvaecky said, "it now appears increasingly probable that real GDP growth in 1987/88 may be even slower in the face of static international commodity prices and continuing foreign exchange shortages in the local economy."

The average inflation rate for 1986 will be about 14 percent, and the November 1985 prediction of an inflation rate of 17 percent for 1986/87 "remains a more realistic forecast," he said, adding: "In the face of, on the one hand, the continuing rigid price control mechanism and, on the other, a rapidly increasing need to reduce parastatal deficits, higher and lower income group prices were, on a year-on-year basis, 14.2 percent and 13.3 percent higher in the first eight months of 1986 than in January-August 1985."

Mr Silavecky is certain that agriculture will not be able to provide the "economic growth engine" which it did in 1985. Current weather forecasts indicate that 1986/87 rains season would be an average one.

"The anticipated move by commercial farmers away from grains and towards oil seeds has taken place with 1986 oilseed production expected to reach 17,000 tons compared with last year's 7,500 tons. Some commercial grain producers may become financially disadvantaged by the recent maize price adjustment but little change to the overall financial situation in agriculture is likely."

He also said that the Manicaland Province is "clearly" poised to become the fastest growing province in this country because the important work being carried out in the Beira corridor. "The proposed rehabilitation of the Chicuacuala line may offer an opportunity to supply railway sleepers for the projects."

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CSO: 3400/775

BANK WARNS OF 1 MILLION UNEMPLOYMENT BY 1990

MB311536 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 31 Dec 86 p 5

[Text] Harare--More than a million Zimbabweans -- some 10 percent of the total population -- will be unemployed by the year 1990, warns a report published by the country's leading merchant bank.

RAL Merchant Bank's latest review of the Zimbabwean economy predicts that Robert Mugabe's socialist-style, five-year national development plan will not succeed in overcoming restraints on the creation of new jobs for the hundreds of thousands of secondary school-leavers coming on to the labor market.

The lack of foreign exchange, falling output, lack of new venture capital, the Zimbabwean government's uncompetitive policies on taxes, prices, wages, salaries and labor, and "unfavorable perceptions elsewhere of Southern Africa's political problems" will all contribute to the job crisis, says the bank's economists.

The review notes that the overall level of employment in Zimbabwe's non-agricultural economic sectors has remained almost static since 1982, when the post-independence boom ended.

The 1982-85 Transitional National Development Plan aimed at creating 108,000 new jobs -- but only 7,000 job opportunities became available each year. Most of these openings were not in the productive sector but in the expanding government service.

The RAL review prediction of a million unemployed takes into account a backlog of at least 250,000 young people who have left school since independence without finding work, with the number of secondary school-leavers rising rapidly towards 200,000 a year by 1990. Zimbabwe's present population of 8.5 million is increasing by some 4 percent a year, with just over one-million in formal employment.

The clamps placed by Mugabe's government on retrenchment of workers have played a significant role in preventing more extensive job losses, says the review. But if Zimbabwe's foreign exchange shortage is not alleviated, there will be increasing pressure from employers to lay off staff in order to cut operating costs.

The Zimbabwe government's supervision of the recruitment and selection of apprentices is said by the review to have curbed nepotism in job allocation, but it is "seen by many employers to be an unwarranted interference in their freedom of choice".

Only about 200 of 7,000 potential apprentices were indentured in 1986.

Examining land-locked Zimbabwe's transport problems, the review says that the operations of the state-run railways have been seriously affected by the shortage of locomotives, with repairs and maintenance being held up by unavailability of imported spare parts. More than 30 percent of Zimbabwe's locomotives are now reported to be out of service.

"Efficiency on the railways was further reduced in the last few months by SA's decision to withdraw locomotives and rolling stock on loan to neighboring countries, apparently with the intention of ensuring that possible border closure measures will not leave important equipment stranded on the wrong side of any regional borders," says the review.

/12624

CSO: 3400/775

COMMENTARY SEES URGENT NEED FOR NEW DISPENSATION

MB021053 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 8 Jan 87

[Station commentary: "Dedication to Reform"]

[Text] Fears at home and abroad that the imposition of sanctions against South Africa will put a brake on the reform process in the country have been disclosed by the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis. In his Christmas and New Year message, Mr Heunis, who is the chief architect of the reform process, says that the greatest challenge facing the country in the coming year would be to give effect to the ideals of reform in the face of efforts from several quarters to derail the process of constitutional and socioeconomic reform.

A search for a more acceptable constitutional dispensation has to be tackled as a matter of urgency. This could only be done through negotiation with the leaders of all communities in the country. As president P.W. Botha said early this year, all South Africans must be placed in the position where they can participate in the government through their elected leaders. What remains to be decided is the mechanics for bringing this about. It has been repeatedly stated by the government that it is committed to reform and to the sharing of power between the various people who make up the population of the country. But because of this diverse population mix of 13 minority groups in the country there can be no question of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state. One of the basic realities of the South African situation is the fact that the country does not comprise a minority of 5 million whites and a majority of 25 million blacks. Black South Africans comprise 10 main nations divided by differences in language, culture, and tradition. The divisions are deep, fundamental, and jealously guarded. Africa, with its complex population mix, and one would have to be devised by South Africans themselves. South Africa is intent on providing for each group the right to self-determination while satisfying the need to work together on matters common to all. To simply install a one-man-one-vote unitary system in South Africa without adequate protection for cultural and ethnic minorities will only repeat the deadly struggles that have broken the promise of democracy in so many African states.

/12624

CSO: 3400/776

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

CUBAN CULTURAL EXHIBITION OPENS--The minister of youth, sports, and culture, Comrade David Karimanzira, said it was the government's intention to have more cultural exchange programs between Cuba and Zimbabwe within the framework of the Nonaligned Movement and the bilateral cultural exchange agreements. Comrade Karimanzira was speaking at the official opening of a 1-week Cuban [word indistinct] exhibition which depicts that country's revolution, the economy, and the general life of the Cuban people. Speaking at the same occasion, the Cuban ambassador to Zimbabwe, Comrade Alfonso Fraga, expressed the support for liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia, and the Palestine Liberation organization. Comrade Fraga said Cuba will continue to keep its forces in Angola as long as the apartheid regime still exists in South Africa. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 14 Jan 87 MB] /12624

MINISTER HAILS MOZAMBIQUE'S MOCUMBI--Harare, 14 Jan, SAPA--Zimbabwe and Mozambique should continue to work together to withstand South African destabilization activities, ZIANA reported the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Witness Mangwende as saying today. In a congratulatory message to his recently appointed Mozambican counterpart, Mr Pascoal Mocumbi, the minister said he hoped the cordial relations existing between the two countries would be strengthened. "It is also my conviction that our two sister republics will remain united against South Africa's destabilization activities," Mr Mangwende said. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1950 GMT 14 Jan 87 MB] /12624

ZANU CONFIRMS SUSPENSION OF PARTY OFFICIALS--The ZANU-PF headquarters in Harare has said that the suspension of five ZANU-PF officials of the Bulawayo East District is valid. In an interview with ZIANA today, the party deputy secretary for the commissariat and culture, Comrade Nelson Mawela, said the provincial executive has powers to suspend people from their party posts, but not from the party. He said the Matabeleland North Provincial Executive had not violated the party's constitution by suspending Comrades (Loveness Makoni), (Francis Jovu), (John Mutende), (Gottfried Ntinigo), and (Daniel Gumbakumba). [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 1745 GMT 8 Jan 87 MB] /12624

WARNING AGAINST RSA SABOTEURS--People living in the southern parts of the country have been urged to be vigilant against South African saboteurs. The call was made by the ZANU-PF midlands Chairman, Comrade Richard Hove, when he addressed district party officials at Matonga in the (Imberengwe) recently. Comrade Hove, who is also minister of mines, pointed out that South Africa's attitude towards Zimbabwe is aggressive and called on the people to be vigilant. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 13 Jan 87 MB] /12624

CSO: 3400/775

MICRO-CARRIER FOR NAVY CONTEMPLATED

Pretoria ARMED FORCES in English Dec/Jan 87 pp 26, 27, 28, 31

[Article by Helmoed-Romer Heitman]

[Text]

With both the frigates and the Shackletons out of service, we are now well and truly out of the "protection of the Cape Sea Route" business. Despite this, we do still need a measure of blue water capability, if only to keep track of what is going on around us. In the long run, we can hope for a "home-grown" frigate force and some or other aircraft type converted to the maritime patrol role. Neither of these will materialise in the short or medium terms, however, and this leaves a gap in our defence capability which should be redressed.

Modernising the two remaining President class frigates and taking them back into service, would not by itself suffice — two ships would be a totally inadequate force. One possible answer might lie in a "micro-carrier" based on a hull similar to that of SAS Drakensberg and carrying suitable helicopters in the Puma/Super Puma class.

The advantages of this approach would lie in the fact that:

1. We have the immediate capability to construct the basic ship, drawing on the experience gained with the Drakensberg;
2. Such a ship would not need to be terribly expensive, as it could be built largely to merchant ship standards;

3. One such vessel would give the surveillance capability of several frigates at less cost, by virtue of the range and speed of her helicopters and her own endurance;
4. Unlike any type of maritime patrol aircraft or airship, she would allow us to maintain a presence at sea when and where needed.

Missions

A ship — or ships — of this type would have a wide range of applications in our situation. Peacetime missions would be found in the areas of shipping route surveillance, the patrol and protection of the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), search and rescue, and counter-infiltration patrols. They would also prove of considerable value once Antarctica begins to attract real economic interest. A micro-carrier would also be an ideal training ship. Wartime missions would include the protection of coastal convoys against attack by submarines and fast attack craft (FACs), the "reception" and escort into port of foreign-going ships, and operations in conjunction with strike craft.

In the EEZ patrol/protection role, a micro-carrier would offer the combined advantages of long on-station endurance, far-ranging surveillance and a

quick reaction capability. It would thus be equally suited to watching over a far-flung fishing fleet or providing protection to offshore gas or oil fields. In some cases, such a ship would — by virtue of the reach which its aircraft give it — be able to combine one or both of these missions with that of shipping route surveillance. Its potential in the SAR role is obvious; given that attention is paid to this aspect in the design stage, a ship of this type would also have considerable potential in a disaster relief role in coastal areas.

In peacetime, a micro-carrier would, in effect, combine many of the capabilities of several frigates and maritime patrol aircraft and some additional ones — and do so at rather less cost.

The usefulness of a ship of this type in wartime is equally beyond doubt, although it would only really come into its own operating as a part of an escort or patrol group.

The Ship

Depending on the funds available, the basic ship could take one of two basic forms — “two deck” or “through deck”:

“Two Deck”

This would amount to the basic Drakensberg design redrafted to allow for a forward flight deck and providing hangar space in the superstructure. Extending the superstructure forward should allow it to accommodate up to six helicopters of the Puma class. Further extending it out to flush with the hull sides would serve to ease helicopter servicing and handling and should just allow enough space to move a helicopter forward or aft past two aircraft parked next to each other. Helicopters could thus be flown off the forward deck and on to the aft deck.

Some additional office space could be provided above the new hangars, but taken together with the additional weight of the forward hangar this might produce serious topweight problems, there will, however, be considerable space available in the old well deck under the new forward flight deck. Taking this together with a portion of the Drakensberg's hold space would allow enough space for the accommodation and offices displaced by running the hangar through the superstructure and for the additional spaces required in the new role.

There would still be enough hold space for the ship to support her helicopters and for her to provide limited munitions and stores support to any consort. Her fuel capacity would hardly be affected except inasmuch as she would need to carry more fuel for her helicopters, which would displace some of the tankage available.

“Two Deck” Alternatives

While the “Two Deck” type as discussed above does appear to just fit inside the Drakensberg envelope, it could prove too crowded and cluttered a design, and could also present an unacceptable topweight problem. These problems could, of course, be redressed by stretching the basic design, or by scaling it up all round. Either of these solutions could, however, involve considerable extra costs.

A cheaper approach to redressing these problems would lie in accepting a somewhat less capable ship as outlined below:

“Two Deck” Type 2

This would provide for either six helicopters with restricted movement between the two decks, or four helicopters with the same degree of movement between decks as in the basic type. Essentially, this variation would have the forward flight deck and the widened superstructure taken out to flush with the hull sides, but not the forward superstructure/hangar extension. The choices would thus be between six helicopters parked three abreast, allowing movement between decks only when two helicopters in line are out of the hangar at the same time, or four helicopters parked two abreast with a free space to one side of them for between deck movement.

“Two Deck” Type 3

This would be the cheapest and simplest approach but naturally also the least capable. It would again provide a forward flight deck and convert the main superstructure block to hangar space, but would not involve extending the superstructure out to flush with the hull sides. This ship would thus have hangar space for four helicopters, with fore and aft movement possible only when two

parking spaces in line are free at the same time.

A full "through-deck" redrafting of the Drakensberg design would offer considerable flight operations advantages and could also allow up to ten or even twelve helicopters of the Puma class to be carried. The "through-deck" approach would also facilitate the operation of non-expendable, long-range remotely piloted vehicles (RPVs).

It would also, however, be the most complex, expensive and time-consuming option. Despite the availability of hold space to convert to offices and accommodation, this option would probably require an additional deck level as the entire superstructure would effectively disappear. This extra deck level would, in turn, very probably require the entire ship to be scaled up in all dimensions.

While the "through-deck" variant would be the most capable of the possible Drakensberg-based micro-carriers discussed here, it does not seem likely that its advantages would outweigh the additional costs and time required to bring such a ship into service. The "through-deck" approach might thus be one that could follow on to one or more "two deck" vessels as and when funds and experience allow, and operational considerations demand. Such a later and larger "through-deck" ship could then perhaps also be built to a size and standard where it could offer a limited fixed wing capability with, perhaps, a navalised light attack derivative of the SAAF's Impala replacement. This would still be no attack carrier, but it would take the SAN's capability a major step further towards limited sea control.

Armament

The primary armament of the micro-carrier would be its aircraft which are discussed below.

Apart from its aircraft, the micro-carrier should carry two weapons systems — a point defence system to provide defence against ASMs launched from a submarine or from a long-range aircraft, and a basic gun armament to allow it to enforce its will in the EEZ protection role. An area air defence system would be "nice to have" but would price the ship out of our reach and would also

almost certainly not fit into the basic Drakensberg hull together with the aircraft and their supporting systems and equipment. While the point defence system will need to be procured or developed — albeit also for other ships in the fleet — the gun armament would ideally centre on one or more 76mm guns as used on the strike craft. Some additional 20mm and 40mm could also be fitted.

Surface to Surface Missiles (SSMs)

An additional weapon system which would not make excessive demands on space and volume, and which would greatly expand the capability of the micro-carrier, would be a suitable SSM. The micro-carrier's aircraft would allow the range of such a system to be exploited to the full by providing both timely target detection and identification and mid-course guidance for over-the-horizon engagement. Provided that box launchers or — more expensive but also with more potential — a vertical launch system is used, the provision of an SSM system should make no really problematical demands on the design of the micro-carrier.

The SSM chosen for the micro-carrier might be the Skerpioen or a derivative thereof, or a cruise missile using the small turbojet developed by Armscor. Ideally, the ship might carry a mix of both weapons, allowing the choice of weapon to be matched to the nature of the target. Whichever approach is followed in this regard, an SSM capability would move the micro-carrier from having merely an ASW (anti-submarine warfare) and sea surveillance capability with limited ASuW (anti surface warfare) potential, to having a limited sea control capability.

Sonar

If at all possible, the micro-carrier should also be equipped with a long-range sonar. This will allow the ASW potential of the helicopters to be fully exploited without the need for specialised ASW consort. Given that the helicopters would be fitted with active dunking sonar and for a mix of active and passive sonobouys, the ideal option would seem to be to provide the micro-carrier with a towed array sonar system. This would make the best use of the

overall ship/helicopter combination and would have the additional advantage of not making excessive demands in the areas of hull shape and hull and propulsion silencing. Certainly the micro-carrier would not be capable of the "sprint and drift" mode of operation — "amble and drift" would be more like it — or "waddle and drift" as the frigate types would almost definitely term it, but together with its helicopters it would still have considerable potential in the ASW role.

Even if it is envisaged that the micro-carrier would in the long run operate together with specialised ASW vessels, her own towed array sonar will still be a valuable asset in the combined detection/location system of the escort group.

Aircraft

Helicopters

The basic aircraft type for the proposed micro-carrier would be a helicopter in the Puma class. Such a helicopter will in any event have to be procured or developed to supplement and later supplant the SAAF Puma fleet. For the short term, a number of Pumas could be permanently assigned to this role.

The micro-carrier's helicopters would have four primary missions:

1. Reconnaissance;
2. ASW;
3. ASuW;
4. Search and Rescue.

In their reconnaissance role the helicopters would operate in conjunction with RPVs in the surveillance role, as discussed below. Essentially, the helicopters would be operated only in the detailed identification or interrogation role.

In their ASW role, the helicopters should be equipped both with dunking sonar and for active and passive sonobuoys, and would employ both homing torpedos and — in confined waters — depthcharges. They would ideally only have to handle the localisation and the engagement of the submarine, being guided to its general area either by accompanying ASW vessels or one or another type or by the micro-carrier herself.

In their ASuW role, the helicopters would employ air to surface missiles (ASMs), a heavy weapon perhaps derived from the Skerpioen and a lighter one for operations against small craft, or could also provide mid-course guidance for longer-ranges SSMs launched from box launchers on board the micro-carrier herself. They could, naturally, also operate in this role together with strike craft.

Attack Helicopters

Should the attack helicopter being developed for the SAAF turn out to be a larger aircraft than the Alpha-XH1 prototype suggests and be twin-engined, it could also have a maritime role in the ASuW environment.

Carrying a small number of attack helicopters armed with cannon and rockets or light missiles would offer certain advantages in the EEZ patrol/protection role. Helicopters of this type would allow an errant fishing vessel, for instance, to be arrested in the absence of the micro-carrier or other surface vessels. Skerpioen-armed Puma class helicopters, by contrast, would face the embarrassing situation of either having to employ massive "overkill" with a heavy ASM or letting the vessel go, should it decide not to heed a polite request to heave to or to sail towards the micro-carrier.

Operating attack helicopters from the micro-carrier would also seem to hold out some very interesting possibilities in the counter-infiltration role and in operations together with strike craft. Certainly all light craft such as FACs would be suitable prey for a maritime attack helicopter which, in its turn, would be more suited to such operations than a larger, less manoeuvrable and slower helicopter of the Puma class.

The logistical and technical advantages of operating only one maritime helicopter type, or at least of operating only one type aboard one ship, might well argue against this as a standard practice. These problems could, however, be overcome in the long term if both types are designed around the same basic engine — something which would seem to be a logical course for us to follow in any event. Regardless of which way we go in this regard,

operating two different helicopter types from a ship of this size would still be logistically and technically simpler than similar operations on shore far from a major base. Proper planning of support and maintenance "kits" should go far towards reducing any problems to readily manageable proportions.

Drones — Remotely Piloted Vehicles

A suitable long-range RPV would prove to be a great asset to a ship of this type. Helicopters are by their nature not ideally suited to the surveillance mission, while fixed-wing aircraft are for the foreseeable future beyond our capability to take to sea. The RPV/helicopter combination could, however, go a long way towards providing a similar capability while conserving the helicopters, their crews and fuel.

RPVs equipped with a suitable mix of radar, infra-red (IR), electronic support measures (ESM) and visual sensors — not necessarily all aboard the same RPV — would seem to offer an excellent means of providing surveillance over a large area around the parent ship. The task of locating ships and providing an initial identification would be much simpler than that facing the RPV seeking targets on land.

The micro-carrier might have a number of electronic sensor — ESM, IR, radar — equipped RPVs permanently "on station" around it to provide area surveillance. These would generally be operated out to the maximum range of their control/data link with the ship. Some RPVs might well also be sent further afield on a programmed course to extend the ship's surveillance coverage still further. Other RPVs fitted with cameras and/or real-time electro-optical sensors — TV, low-light level TV (LLLTV), thermal imaging — could then be despatched to investigate routine contacts to make the initial identification.

Alternatively, more capable — and more complex! — RPVs might be employed to handle both tasks. This would provide for an earlier identification of detected ships but would be paid for by gaps in the surveillance coverage while the RPV descends to make the close identification and by the additional complexity in the RPV and in its operation.

Where a more detailed identification or an interrogation of a particular ship is needed, this task would fall to the micro-carrier's helicopters. In wartime, however, the detailed identification might also be left to an RPV so as not to risk a manned aircraft.

RPVs could also be used to attack enemy ships directly with bombs or missiles carried by the RPV or indirectly by providing target illumination or mid-course guidance for SSMs or ASMs launched by the micro-carrier or by its helicopters. Like the helicopters, the RPVs could also be used in this role in conjunction with strike craft.

Side Effects

Apart from its actual naval utility, a micro-carrier project would have some valuable side effects or spin offs. Building a vessel of this type would serve to keep our ship design and construction expertise alive until there are sufficient funds available for the procurement of new combatants. Being "more naval" than SAS Drakensberg, it would in fact also take our expertise a step further on the road from maintenance and refits via modifications, the strike craft and the SAS Drakensberg to designing and building our own frigates and submarines.

Conclusions

The real question must of course be whether such a ship would serve a purpose and whether it would provide real "value for money". The answer would seem to be yes on both counts.

A micro-carrier would redress several of the present gaps in our maritime capability. It would give the SAN and, indeed, the SADF, a much greater blue water surveillance capability than we have had since the early days of Shackleton operations when the full Shackleton fleet was operational. A micro-carrier would also give the SAN the ability to maintain a presence at sea over considerable periods and would facilitate the retention of our ASW skills. Finally, a ship of this type would greatly enhance the SAN's capabilities in various other areas including EEZ patrol and protection and SAR. All of these benefits would naturally be multiplied by

the procurement of two or three such vessels — three allowing a near permanent presence off each coast.

Very importantly, it would seem that a micro-carrier would be available rather earlier than a frigate or a corvette, as its construction would be largely based on an existing and recently built design and as its primary weapon systems — its helicopters and its SSMs — are already in service in their basic form. Even the matter of operating helicopters from the micro-carrier can be exercised in good measure in the interim by operating helicopters in similar roles from the SAS Tafelberg and the SAS Drakensberg.

Where a frigate or even a corvette would be an entirely new project, a micro-carrier would be largely a combination of an existing design and existing systems. Certainly the micro-carrier would only attain its full capability once its other systems — specifically the RPVs, the point defence system and the towed array sonar — become available, but it would in the meantime already give us a potent platform at sea virtually in the time it takes to build and fit out.

As to "value for money", a micro-carrier as discussed here should cost no more than a frigate and might well cost less, depending on the sophistication of the electronic systems decided upon. Its capabilities would be vastly greater than those of a single frigate in any but a specialised role. A micro-carrier would be extremely useful in its own right and would become even more useful when later combined with specialised ASW ships. One long-term consideration in this regard would be that the existence of such a ship or ships would allow greater flexibility in the design of any future corvette or frigate in that these would not necessarily all have to have full helicopter operating facilities aboard.

A micro-carrier would thus represent a very efficient interim solution to our maritime problems and one which is rendered even more efficient by having considerable long-term utility lasting beyond the introduction into service of more specialised vessels.

Thus the SAN should perhaps look at the possibility of becoming a "carrier owner", even if we can only afford a rather little and basic one.

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CSO: 3400/786

SOUTH AFRICA

LAW AND ORDER MINISTER DISCUSSES ANC VIOLENCE

MB130913 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Interview with Afriaan Vlok, RSA Minister of law and order, in Cape Town by Kolie van Koller on the "Network" program, introduced by Betty Kemp -- live]

[Text] [Kemp] Welcome to Network. The minister of law and order, Mr Adriaan Blok, has agreed to discuss certain aspect of the ANC on the Network program. Kolie van Koller is on the microwave link to our Cape Town studio and the minister of law and order.

[Van Koller] Good evening Mr Vlok and welcome to the Network program.

[Vlok] Good evening.

[Van Koller] Mr Vlok, approximately 3 weeks ago the ANC president predicted increased violence, but according to the organization's 75th anniversary message, last week, he indicated that the ANC will no longer attack soft targets in South Africa. But scarcely 24 hours later, a bomb exploded in a shopping center in Johannesburg, and a second one had to be defused. Now, there two devices were planted in a manner which could have killed or injured hundreds of people. How does one reconcile this?

[Vlok] Well, it is difficult because, as you know, the ANC is a terrorist organization which has left a trail of violence in South Africa. On its path of violence it has also allied itself to the PLO. But this violence of the ANC, together with its relations with the PLO, is causing problems for them both, here in the country and in the world at large. So I believe one should realize that the ANC has developed a strategy of using propaganda to try to convince the world that it is renouncing violence. The ANC will never renounce violence, because violence is the means it used to intimidate people in this country, to gain support for its deals. It is nothing but a propaganda campaign by the ANC to enhance its image.

[Van Koller] But does that not have something to do with the discussions later this month in Washington with the U.S. Secretary of State and the report published a few days ago in Washington on the ANC?

[Vlok] Yes, I believe so. The ANC is sensitive about its image overseas and in the United States. As I said just now, the ANC is linked to the PLO, which is America's archenemy -- they have bombed them in Libya. The ANC would do anything to make a favorable impression in the eyes of the Americans, who are putting a lot of pressure on South Africa, an impression that they are a moderate organization that wants to negotiate with us when, in reality, that is not the case. The ANC stands by its violence, and I do not believe it plans to renounce that violence.

[Van Koller] Is this approach of not practicing what you preach characteristic of ANC policy, would you say?

[Vlok] Well, that is the norm, the characteristic, of a terrorist organization. It preaches one thing but does another. One only has to look at the activities of the ANC in this country. As you said a moment ago, just a few hours after they had announced that they would no longer attack soft targets, they planted a bomb at the OK. During this past weekend there was the case of a man murdered by the so-called necklace method in Soweto. We also have had the example of people being attacked with gasoline bombs simply for having taken part in a song attempting to promote peace and cooperation in South Africa. These are the victims of the ANC and its gasoline bombs.

[Van Koller] Mr Vlok, the U.S. Government has said the South African Government is radicalizing its enemies by not negotiating with them, including the ANC. What is your reaction to that?

[Vlok] The ANC is an organization of violence, which wants to take over the country by means of violence. At present it is controlled by the South African Communist Party [SACP]. This is even confirmed by the report issued by the United States. The SACP has only one goal for this country, namely, to take over this country and establish a Marxist, single-party state. I think it is expecting too much that any self-respecting government should negotiate with such an organization, or hold discussions with such an organization, before it renounces violence. Certainly the South African Government is not prepared to do so.

[Van Koller] What is the reason, in your opinion, that hardly anything has come of the planned December-January attacks by the ANC?

[Vlok] I think the actions of the security forces have been the major reason why the ANC did not succeed in its plans.

[Van Koller] According to the ANC leadership, the organization has very strong support from the South African population. Could you estimate their actual support, particularly in the black community?

[Vlok] To be totally honest, that is not known. No one knows for sure. But the fact of the matter is that the ANC is too afraid to renounce violence, and to return to South Africa, and to test for itself its popularity and support in the country. The ANC is not prepared to do so because, I think, it would lose, because the majority of the people in this country categorically reject the violence for which the ANC stands.

[Van Koller] Do you not then think that the announcement by the ANC that it is going to renounce violence, and that soft targets should no longer be attacked -- do you not think that may be an indication that it wants to negotiate?

[Vlok] That is what the ANC is trying to reflect, but the question remains: Is that genuine, or is it merely sham? As I said, this past weekend has shown that it is not genuine, but sham, through which they want to satisfy the world while their violence continues in South Africa. And let us remember, a terrorist organization cannot achieve its goals without the use of violence to intimidate people into supporting it.

[Van Koller] In other words, stability is a danger to a terrorist organization?

[Vlok] Quite right. Stability is a danger to it, as is law and order.

[Van Koller] There have also been reports of tension and disagreement within the leadership of the ANC, particularly between the so-called old guard and the young Turks. Your reaction?

[Vlok] We have reason to believe this is true. There is tension in the top ranks of the ANC, because there are people there whom I do not think are communists, Marxists, confirmed Marxists. But it is also true that at this stage the ANC is controlled by the SACP, by true communists. So there is friction among them. We must remember there is power struggle within the ANC, in the sense that some want to take over power here, while others are prepared to return on a more reasonable basis in order that they can come and work with us towards a peaceful future.

[Van Koller] Right, then, Mr Vlok. Can we take a look for a moment into 1987? What do you foresee?

[Vlok] Well, I am optimistic about 1987. There are difficult days ahead for us, but we are prepared to do all possible to ensure the safety of the people of South Africa. But we must always be realistic about this matter. The ANC is a terrorist organization which attacks when it feels secure, and we must remain prepared. And the public must help us, as they helped us in the OK Bazaars incident last week. They must be alert, they must look around them and take notice, so that all of us together -- the security forces and the South African community -- can put an end to these acts of terror as a team. There are difficult times ahead for us, but we must have no fear. We should not be over optimistic, we should be realistic. People can lose their lives in 1987, but for our part, and with the cooperation of the public, we will do everything possible to protect them against these cowardly terrorists.

[Van Koller] Mr Vlok, thank you very much for joining us tonight on Network. Good evening to you.

[Vlok] Thank you, and good night.

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CSO: 3400/790

HEAD OF ORANJEWERKERS DESCRIBES DREAM OF ORANJELAND

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Dec 86 p 10

[Report of interview with Leader of the Vereeniging van Oranjewerkers, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd jnr. by Gus Silber in Pretoria, date not given]

[Text]

THE son of the architect sits behind his desk in a small room in a small house in the small suburb of Gezina in Pretoria. Sunlight dapples his hands through the dusty parted curtains. Roaring trucks change gear on the throughway outside the window. The son of the architect apologises for the state of his desk.

What desk? This thing that lies buried under a compost of curling, yellowing, white paper and newsprint. Somewhere in there lives the germ of an ideal. It breathes. It is growing. One day it will burst forth from its vault, and the land will be coloured Orange.

Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, son of the architect, will be the master painter of the new nation. It will be called Oranjeland. It will be the Zion of the Afrikanervolk. There will be no black Oranjelanders. The Afrikaner will toil, and the soil will flourish.

Even Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, the silver-haired patriarch, the assassinated martyr of his folk, could not have seen this far into the future: a separate independent nation where whites would not only be in the majority, but would be the sole inhabitants. He could also not have foreseen the foundations of his building collapsing under the hammer of his own folk.

Twenty years after the Greek messenger plunged a knife into his heart in the sacred House of Parliament all that survives is the House itself. Apartheid is

dead. Hendrik Verwoerd is dead. But his son is the future.

The leader of the Vereeniging van Oranjewerkers is a man whose thorn tree build hides a heart of meekness, at least for those he deems his folk. His meek, smiling face, wreathed by a silvery-grey Voortrekker beard, recalls little of his father's deep-etched Old Testament severity.

But Hendrik Verwoerd has inherited more than the family name. His dedication to the ideal of separate development extends beyond the vanishing boundaries of his father's Grand Apartheid, which failed to provide a practical solution to the problem of blacks living outside their designated national states.

The Oranjewerkers will do away with the problem by doing away with the blacks: in the independent white state of Oranjeland there will be no work for the vreemdelinge — the aliens — so there will be no excuse for them to wander outside their own territories. Naturally, this means the people of Oranjeland will have to make certain sacrifices.

They will no longer be able to afford the convenience and luxury of labour on tap. One has to accept, says Hendrik Verwoerd, his hands clasped and his eyes shut tight behind his bifocals, that workers from other folk are also human beings. They are not machines.

Sooner or later you would have to absorb them into your society. But there are too many of them. They would absorb you first. There is a way to escape. It is called Oranjeland.

From Mossel Bay through the Karoo to the Orange Free State to the ou Transvaal. O bring my terug. Already the seed has been sown. The town of Morgenzon, on the south-eastern Transvaal highveld between Standerton and Ermelo, is the first Oranjedorp, where Afrikaner families bring up their children (at least five per family, for the future of the nation) in an environment devoid of vreemdelinge.

One day Hendrik Verwoerd will move there and farm. Yes, he has five children: four girls and a boy, smiling from their cameo frames above the mess on his desk. Yes, he has no servants. It is healthier. It brings the family together. It brings the volk together.

The Afrikaner needs this. The Afrikaner has become soft through his reliance on the vreemdelinge. Of course the volk will have to accept a decline in living standards in the promised Oranjeland. But not a decline in the quality of life. Die volk moet swaarkry. Swaarkry. The word tolls with the bitter taste of drought.

One day the rain will fall. Will there be time? Perhaps. There could be more nuclear accidents in the world, and in the blink of a seared eyelid, the Afrikanervolk will march to Oranjeland. There may not be time. But nor is there a choice.

The vreemdelinge must go. The white man must reclaim his land. Of course this is not racism. The Afrikanervolk just happens to be a white volk. And a Christian volk. The vreemdelinge would be expected

to ontswart the Oranjeland, to go back to their nations in an orderly manner.

Should this expectation not be met, the Afrikanervolk will be forced to follow more drastic methods. There is no choice. The Afrikanervolk will not lie back and accept the process of history. The Afrikanervolk will make history. Its own.

Yes, it is true that the vreemdelinge may be involved in separate struggles for their own freedom. The Afrikanervolk can understand that. But if the vreemdelinge win their struggle, what will happen? You will have satisfied only the majority of the volke. The question is: is this democracy? No. Each volk must struggle for the freedom of its own volk, but no volk must ignore the rightful struggle of another volk.

Hendrik Verwoerd searches for a newspaper clipping on his desk. He cannot find it. He can barely find the desk. It does not matter. The Bible says, and Hendrik Verwoerd knows it by heart, that a volk has a responsibility from its Creator to bewaaren bewaak the land. To safeguard and preserve. To work. A volk that chooses to ignore its responsibility is a volk of thieves and cowards. No. That is not the Afrikanervolk.

Today there are 2 500 Oranjewerkers. There are many more Afrikaners, and there are many more vreemdelinge.

The son of the architect rises. One day, he says, I really must clean up this desk.

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CSO: 3400/789

AZAPO LEADER'S FAMILY ATTACKED, ONE DEAD

MB0150840 Johannesburg SAPA in ENGLISH 0829 GMT 15 Jan 87

[Text] Johannesburg, 15 Jan, SAPA--The uncle of AZAPO's general secretary, Mr George Wauchope, was shot dead in Soweto yesterday, the SOWETAN newspaper reported today.

Another relative was also shot and has been admitted to Baragwanath Hospital.

The SOWETAN said Mr Wauchope's uncle, Mr Washington Linda Wauchope, 44, died soon after he was shot in the head and body. His nephew, Mr Kenny Dlamini, 23, was taken to Baragwanath Hospital with a bullet lodged in his face.

The shooting took place four days after Mr George Wauchope's mother, Mrs Ethel Wauchope, was buried at Avalon Cemetery. Her house in Dlamini, Soweto, was extensively damaged by petrol bombs.

The newspaper said Mr Dlamini was cornered and shot in Soweto by a group of men. He ran home and was taken to Baragwanath Hospital. Minutes later, Mr Washington Wauchope was shot dead after a group of youths chased him near Ibongo senior secondary school in Dlamini.

A witness, Mrs Jane Majola, 55, said she heard the youths shout "here he is" and saw Mr Wauchope jump into her yard.

She ran away when she heard two gunshots. She later found Mr Wauchope lying face down in the yard.

Mr George Wauchope said his relatives were targets in the "escalating feud of rival political groups."

He said the rival group was out to get him in the hope that "if they killed me, they have killed AZAPO."

The matter was reported at the Moroka police station.

Col Johan Labushagne, a police liaison officer, confirmed the incident but said the dead man had not been identified.

He said Mr Kennedy Dlamini was being treated at Baragwanath Hospital.

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CSO: 3400/765

AZAPO OFFICIAL COMMENDS STUDENTS' RETURN TO SCHOOL

MB151309 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1230 GMT 15 Jan 87

[Text] Johannesburg, 15 Jan, SAPA--More losses than gains were suffered during the school boycott last year and it had resulted in unemployment swelling the ranks of the police force and the SADF, the Azanian People's Organizations' publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said today.

Addressing a press conference, he commended students for heeding the call for return to school.

"The boycott has gone on for too long and the losses have outweighed the gains.

"Student bodies were disorganized. Littering and idling resulted and emigration into the homeland schools has increased," he said.

"Insufficient education and unemployment has swollen the ranks of the police and SADF.

"There is disunity amongst students and community and the anti-school call has been championed by issue-oriented groups."

He called the United Democratic Front-affiliated Soweto Students Congress "reactionary" and said, "they wanted the boycott to continue."

AZAPO's deputy president, Mr Lynboln Mabasa, said: "We don't see a complete change of education while the Nationalist Party is in power.

"We think people who are responsible have to start exercising control. The children are being sacrificed and we are not going to allow children with selfish interests to hold the black community to ransom."

Responding to a question about the UDF-backed "peoples education," Mr Myeza said: "We don't believe education must be concocted by unknown people without the people having contributed to its formulation."

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CSO: 3400/765

ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE

MB101247 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 9 Jan 87 p 4

["Focus" column by Gerald L'Ange of the SOWETAN Africa News Service]

[Excerpt] Lusaka--The African National Congress has reiterated a willingness to participate in a negotiated solution in the country. And it has joined the call for children to return to school and end the class boycott in South Africa.

In a statement issued to mark the ANC's 75th anniversary, the organization's national executive committee reiterated its commitment to "seize any opportunity that may arise to participate in a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country" with the specific aim of creating a "democratic, non-racial and united South Africa."

"Let those in our country who in the face of our mounting offensive, have started talking about negotiating, commit themselves publicly to this perspective".

Many whites, the statement said, were feeling their way towards acceptance of the inevitability of a non-racial order.

It said the ANC "must pay the greatest possible attention" to the role of whites in the democratic revolution".

Whites must learn that it was not democracy that threatened their survival but racist tyranny.

The present crisis in South Africa demanded that whites make a clean break with the past and "unequivocally reject the ruling group as being unrepresentative of them".

The statement called on blacks and whites to "come together in a massive democratic coalition".

The statement rejected any ethnic distinction between South Africans.

It supported the guaranteeing of the freedoms of speech, assembly, association, language, religion, the Press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial.

The statement committed the ANC to an economic policy of ensuring that the wealth of the country increased and was equitably shared by all.

The ANC national executive made a point of paying a special tribute to the late President Samora Machel of Mozambique and promised to erect a monument on the spot where he died in a plane crash.

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CSO: 3400/765

ANC MAPUTO REPRESENTATIVE SPEAKS ON ANNIVERSARY

MB091514 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 9 Jan 87

["Excerpts" from speech by Jacob Zuma, member of the ANC National Executive Committee and chief representative of the ANC in Maputo, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC in Maputo on 8 January -- recorded]

[Text] Seventy-five years ago today, on 8 January 1912, a few hundreds of the most prominent speakers among the oppressed people of our country assembled in Bloemfontein to form the African National Congress. Our movement's founding assembly congress took place 2 years after the establishment of the Union of South Africa which brought together the two former British colonies of the Cape and Natal and the two conquered Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The British act of parliament which established the Union and ignored the demands of the majority of our people and conceded rights of self-government exclusively to the white minority, the majority remained as they had been since the time of colonial conquest excluded from any participation in the governance of the land of their birth. [sentence as heard] The year in which our movement was formed was also the year in which the government of Prime Minister Louis Botha published the notorious land (Act) dividing land ownership on the racial basis. In this context, the founders of our great movement sought to organize our people to struggle for their rights and govern themselves and to live as free and equal men and women in the society free of racial discrimination.

[Announcer] In his speech, Mr Zuma also referred to the death of President Samora Machel.

[Zuma] This is the first ANC function in Maputo since the tragic death of Comrade President Samora Machel, and it is fitting to record the profound shock and sorrow which our people felt at the loss of this great son of Africa. In his own message on this occasion of our 75th anniversary, Comrade President Tambo said, and I quote, the late president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Moises Machel, and others who have been murdered by the Pretoria regime and its agents will forever remain examples of that steadfast refusal of the peoples of the region to surrender to racial and colonial domination, fascist tyranny and state terrorism. Samora Machel was a towering child of the African revolution. He dedicated his life to our own liberation. His ideas and deeds are a material force in the struggle for our emancipation. The blood shed on our soil is and will forever be a foundation of freedom for all our people, and quote. [applause]

PHENOMENON OF TOWNSHIP STREET COMMITTEES REVEALED

New Member Describes Recruitment

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Dec 86 pp 11-12

[Text]

THE sight of a group of boys calling house to house has become common. It is unnerving. You think "for whom does the bell toll?" When a group came up to my door and told me to attend a meeting the next night to form a street committee for my street I was at first apprehensive. But the boys were polite.

I began to see an opportunity for me and my neighbours to organise ourselves so we would not be alone and at the mercy of the comrades. It seemed ironic that it was the comrades themselves who were inspiring this, but I started to get interested.

The meeting was to be held at a friend's place. I went to sound her out on the meeting. Apparently her house had been chosen because it had recently been enlarged.

I found her terribly agitated. She could not understand why she should be picked on when she was a woman staying alone with her children.

"There are so many men staying in this street, why is the meeting not held in a man's house?"

I told her as far as I was concerned, that was not an issue to waste time on. What I thought important was the opportunity to get together as people of that street, get to know each other, and, above all, form strategies to solve our problems as a people.

I am not sure if she agreed with me or not, but when the evening came, my

neighbours and myself started converging to her house. At first people walked in, looked at each other suspiciously, greeted and sat down.

I really do not know what we were expecting. Of course, there were fears that the police might come in and detain the whole lot of us. Worse still, they could just get there and open fire. But then, so many people have died lately that one feels the presence of death all the time. And above that, we have heard stories about other townships neighbours getting together and sorting out unruly elements.

One by one, people started coming in. It had been raining the whole week, so the night appeared to be blacker than it should have been, adding a sinister note to an already pregnant evening.

The convenors (comrades) arrived and were also given the suspicious and apprehensive looks. There were only three boys, not older than 18. As they stood addressing us, they shuffled their feet and rubbed their hands (I think they were nervous).

They introduced themselves. I am not sure those were their real names. They gave us the reasons for wanting to form a street committee. They said we need to protect ourselves, first from the Boers who want to evict us from our houses; we also need to protect ourselves against com-tsotsis (these are thugs who masquerade as comrades). But more than that, they said, they wanted to be together with us as parents.

Then the meeting was open to the people. Like a pack of wolves, the parents descended on the three boys. "Where do you come from?" "Where will you take our names to?" "Who is your headquarters?" "Do your parents know you are here?" were some of the questions being asked, and all at the same time.

We were about to have a nasty confrontation when one man spoke: "It's not as if you people do not know that street committees are being formed in most parts of Soweto. In this street we have had comrades coming here demanding our children, girls especially, to go to funeral vigils.

"The formation of a street committee is going to give us power to do what action we want to take and not have them tell us adults what to do."

That did the trick. Some women were obviously still angry. Understandably, too. For there they were face to face with people who were harassing them and making life impossible.

It was obvious they had come along to give the boys a good telling-off and to say "to hell with the street committee".

The boys were humble. First, they confessed they were not familiar with the jargon used at meetings, let alone conversant with procedures.

Some women offered to open a night school for them. "Ma, we are boycotting schools." That derailed the meeting as questions such as "what do you hope to be without education?" were thrown at the boys.

Someone realised that we were now off at a tangent and protested: "We are not here to discuss the school crisis."

The people got back to the purpose of the meeting.

Gradually the ice began to thaw as the boys explained their stand and what we had to do.

People asked for clarification on matters such as "does it mean if you want to tell us anything you will go to our chairman who will call a meeting and communicate to us your problem?"

They agreed.

"Does this mean you won't come knocking at our door demanding our children?"

The answer to that was: girls were no longer to be taken away at night. Parents heaved a sigh of relief.

The boys went on to explain how some elements were masquerading as comrades. The street committee would work closely with the comrades and fight all the unwanted elements.

They also told us no cars would be hijacked and Putco buses were no longer to be stoned.

"What is the point of stoning buses driven by our fathers? It is our parents who get killed and not the owners of the buses."

By this time, the parents were interested. We had also ceased to be on the receiving end — just there to receive orders from the boys. We were participating in the running of our affairs — something new in the lives of most of us.

Not only that. We had been gathered as strangers who have lived next door since 1982. Suddenly we were no longer strangers and this feeling was to continue long after the meeting. In fact, we got to know each other better and better.

We then got down to the business of electing the executive. After a great argument with people refusing to stand for elections, giving lame excuses such as "I knock off late from work" or "I am already committed elsewhere", a man over 50 years old, who had made an impression with the sense of his comments during the meeting, was chosen chairman. But not before telling the house that he was accepting on one condition: that he would never have to be told to necklace people or burn down anybody's house.

"I am saying so because our politics are no longer run democratically. If you disagree with the crowd then you get necklaced. If I am called to do that, I want to tell you here and now that I will stop being chairman of this committee."

Once more the comrades reassured him that they would not do any such thing. In fact, they said they were also against the necklaces and burnings. Our names were taken down as well as those of the executives. We were further told to buy a particular type of whistle, different from the ones used by the blackjack police.

These whistles are to be used when attacked by anybody, whether soldiers, blackjacks or thugs. The idea is to blow the whistle if attacked and, on hearing that, the neighbours come out to your assistance.

Unfortunately, recently in one area, people came out on hearing the sound of the whistle and were shot at.

The executive was also drawn from people who had contributed during the course of the meeting. One of them was a bus driver who has links with a football organisation. It was obvious that his soccer club experience in respect of running meetings would be an asset for our street.

With the executive chosen and business out of the way, we spent some time chatting to the boys and getting to know them. It was amazing the amount of goodwill created within a few minutes. The boys who we had viewed with suspicion and anger had become midwives of security and understanding.

For days after that, I would meet some of my neighbours and we would actually stop and chat. In fact, last week after four people had died in Phomolong, our chairman suggested we look beyond whistles for protection. We have now arranged an extra system using telephones, which most people now have.

Not only that, last Saturday a group of so-called comrades came demanding girls for a vigil.

When they came knocking at my door, I told them that the issue had been dealt with at our meeting, that no girl from this street would be going to a funeral vigil. I must have spent less than ten minutes arguing with them when I was joined by a group of women from my street who told the boys off. Previously we would have been too scared.

Organizational Aspects

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Dec 86 pp 13, 15, 16

[Text]

IN THE closing months of 1986, tens of thousands of ordinary township residents have found themselves — unexpectedly and usually for the first time in their lives — playing active roles in the political process. They have been caught up in the remarkable rise of the street committees.

From numerous townships, people report the same story. They were summoned to meetings, usually by teenagers and often at extremely short notice. A committee was elected, and since then they have, whether with enthusiasm or otherwise, recognised this committee as a form of local leadership.

This phenomenon emerged largely at the instance of the Civic Associations. In Soweto, where the current growth has been particularly rapid, it followed hard on the heels of the re-opening of the Soweto Civic Association's offices after the return from detention of its senior staff.

The office remained the nerve centre for only a couple of months. At the end of November its activities were disrupted by an action which may not be described in terms of current legislation, but one of its key staffers happened to be absent at the time and another successfully passed himself off as a job-seeker. These two, cur-

rently of no fixed address, continue to further the spread of the committees.

What are the street committees all about?

From Lusaka, the ANC has no doubts. They "grow out of the need of the people to defend themselves against State repression ... and in response to ANC calls to make the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable". So Frontline is told by spokesman Tom Sebina. "The main idea" is to forge them into "contingents that will be part of the process towards a total people's war".

In Pretoria, official comment is hard to come by. Off the record, security force sources display exactly the same perspective as Sebina. It's all part of the revolutionary plot, they say, directly traceable to the ANC's 1953 "M-plan", and is a development to be fought at all costs. Which presumably explains why some 420 street committee members in East London and an unknown further number in Port Elizabeth, where the surge took place somewhat earlier than in the Transvaal, are no longer in active circulation.

In Johannesburg, in a cupboard-sized office which is normally the premises of a tiny trading company and is today serving also as the headquarters of the Soweto

Civic Association, two men who spend their every evening instigating new committees laugh out loud, drawing a glower from the secretary who is trying to conduct the business of the company by telephone.

"The people in Lusaka can say what they like," says one, an amiable man of middle age. "We know that the purpose is to enable people to take their lives in hand. Local government has collapsed.

"The State's version of local government was corrupt and inefficient in any case, but local government is necessary for people to channel their grievances. The street committees fill the vacuum. They give people an avenue to express views and come up with solutions."

The SCA's plan is that between 20 and 40 households should form a committee. The elected leaders of each street committee would represent their street in a block committee. Six or eight adjoining streets would form a block.

The block committees would in turn elect the next tier of leaders to their township's "branch".

Each of Soweto's 26 townships is to have a branch and the branches between them elect the fourth tier, which is the "interbranch". The interbranch, to consist of two members from each of the 26 townships, is to be accountable to the executive of the SCA.

Why this last step? Several different SCA people put the same point the same way. The interbranch, arrived at in this super-democratic fashion, is "accountable to" the executive of the SCA. This sounds like the tail wagging the dog. Surely it should be the other way around?

"It is necessary while we get going," says one of the SCA organisers. "We realise that the structures are unrepresentative at present. We are adapting these structures as the committee system builds up. Finally the leadership will come from the streets themselves, through direct responsibility to the people."

To this enquirer it still seems odd that the SCA executive should, even temporarily, expect some sort of supremacy over this ground-up system. The organiser disputes this. "The government says the SCA is 'self-elected', just as it said the Committee of Ten was 'self-elected'.

"In fact, the Committee of Ten was elected by means of widely representative organisations as fairly as it was possible to do at the time. But there was no mecha-

nism for continued accountability to the people, so the Committee became the nucleus of the SCA, which has a fuller ground-level base.

"At the general meeting in '84, there were branches in 17 townships. There were ten delegates from each branch, and the executive they elected included only two people who had been on the Committee of Ten — Dr Motlana and Tom Manthata. Obviously, those branches were not thoroughly representative, but they were as representative as they could be at the time. It is not our fault that there were no elections in '85 and '86. Meetings were banned and many of our members detained.

"Now we are entering the third phase. The new structure will be far more representative, and it is much more difficult for the System to sabotage. Once it is fully established, it will be impossible for the System to put it out of action by detaining leaders. There will be a fully organised structure which can fill any gap."

How fully organised is it so far? The SCA people duck the question, repeatedly. They state vaguely that "many" street committees and "many" block committees already exist.

Pressed, they guesstimate that "about half" of Soweto is now organised, and excuse the vagueness on the grounds that their files have been confiscated.

It seems evident though that with or without files there is a very high level of uncertainty. The SCA people say that there are some freelance bands of youths acting in their name, but without any actual contact with them. But even aside from this factor, the SCA organisers have no clear idea of what their own efforts have amounted to.

Says one: "We know there is unacceptable behaviour by some people who call themselves activists. We do not condone this but we recognise it as part and parcel of the kind of development we have to go through."

He gives an example: a shop was burnt down "before it was established beyond doubt that the owner was a collaborator."

Does that imply that if his collaboration was established beyond doubt, the SCA would condone the burning? "It is not up to us. The street committee and the block committee would decide."

Reception of the committees is extremely mixed. Tales of excitement are common. Many people have had experi-

ences akin to the one Nomavenda Mathiane graphically describes above. Some go further.

A Baragwanath nurse says that one direct effect of her committee has been to enlighten people to services they can draw from their neighbours. She has been introduced to a backyard greengrocer, and now buys her vegetables locally at greater convenience, lower cost, and with personal service. ("I wanted a pumpkin and they said you don't need a pumpkin today, your daughter already got one.")

A Zwile resident tells of the committee sorting out a problem regarding one man's troublesome dogs. He himself was reconciled with his wife after a 26-year separation. The furniture movers refused to bring her goods into the township. The street committee inspanned the local comrades.

A Diepkloof man says: "It's wonderful to see. It's a revival of the old African tradition of the indaba — talking, and disagreeing, even angrily, instead of fighting. Ours stays right out of domestic matters. We don't go and beat up a guy who doesn't give his wife money. But we have put an end to the boys who used to threaten to beat you up if you didn't give them money. We all put in R20 a little while ago, and bought big pots which anyone can use who is having a party."

Generally, the positive comments relate to crime prevention. A woman in Mofolo: "Our is only two weeks old. Already I feel safer. There are patrols at night in case of crime."

A man in Tladi: "We have had one for a couple of months. It is good. One man was caught stealing. He was sentenced to clean everybody's windows. We feel safer. Somebody cannot come to you and say he is a comrade so he can take your car. Now he has to go to the committee."

A woman in Molapo: "Before, if your neighbour made a nuisance you could do nothing. Now you can take it to the committee."

However, there is another side to it. Take a selection of residents' comments:

● "Some boys I had never seen came and said 'we are your democratic street committee which you have elected. The following are the decisions we have made on your behalf . . .' (These decisions included instructions for bus and consumer boycotts, observance of days of mourning on December 16 and Christmas Day, and closing of shebeens and curfews at certain hours).

● "If you work with the street committees you become tied to the UDF, whether you like it or not. I would like to have order and organisation but I do not want anything to do with the UDF. The street committees become their puppets. They pretend to be democratic but they are there to carry out the UDF's instructions. The people get sucked in."

● "At first I was excited. I thought we were going to discuss issues such as removing the rubbish that is strewn all over, and the electricity loan repayment that we make over and above the electricity bills. But these things are not touched. Instead you have the comrades running the show. I find it totally wrong for them to call us out of our houses to listen to them preach their ideology and tell us how they will deal with dissidents."

● "They make you take part even if you don't want to. One person who tried to stay out of it; they now have their meetings right in his house. To force people to be activists is wrong."

● "They are great for domestic problems and practical problems, but when it comes to political action there is no option. People who nobody ever elected to anything come to the chairman one night and say: 'The people have decided there will be a boycott. Your duty is to make sure that your street plays its part.'"

● "People who are not in tune with the UDF ideology are treated very shabbily."

Paradoxically, the very process of trying to develop order has so far led to a good deal of direct disorder. The SCA acknowledges various cases of committee intimidation, ranging from several where youths called on householders to "pop out some monies," usually for "funeral fees," or knocked up adults late at night to berate them for failing to attend meetings, to one where a street committee pronounced a death sentence on an alleged sorcerer. (The sorcerer opened fire on his intending executioners, killing one teenager and seriously injuring another).

Despite this, it is clear that in many areas a process is under way which has acquired a momentum of its own — the passing of power from ideologues to the hands of genuine community leaders.

In one case told to Frontline, adults revolted against the rule of a committee dominated by hard-line students and demanded a secret ballot in which everybody, including the youth, voted. To all-round surprise, a mainly adult committee

was elected by such a margin that it was evident most of the youth had voted against their own earlier leaders.

In another — a street of 44 houses (the precise figure is an outflow of the resultant organisation) — less than twenty people attended the first committee meeting. Many were there reluctantly, fearing retaliation if they did not attend, and many were particularly annoyed that they had been summoned by comrades at only fifteen minutes' notice. (The comrades apologised and explained this was for security reasons). The meeting went well. Word got around. At the next meeting 32 households were represented even though there was no longer a fear of reprisals.

What happens next? Do we have a huge clampdown? Does the ideological element triumph, with the committees turning into tyrannical instruments for imposing a "people's will" laid down from the upper echelons? Do we enjoy the unprecedented sight of true order, fair and full, entering township life?

In part, it depends on the government. At present the approach seems to be to hunt the committees down as just another step in the communist plot. This approach doesn't seem to have borne much fruit in the Eastern Cape, aside from maintaining full employment in the Prisons Department. Moreover, it has the ironic effect of aggravating the very polarisation the government claims to be combatting.

One newly-elected committee member whose main interest is in doing all he can to make sure his child goes to school next year, describes this experience. "I was sitting in a committee meeting when three police cars came. I was so frightened I couldn't move. In fact they were coming for the house next door, where everyone has known for years there is a theft racket. Long after they had gone we were all still shaking. Afterwards I felt very strange. They could have been coming for me. I'm involved in fighting the system now."

It surely doesn't make sense from the government's point of view that a humble burger like this should find himself a "fighter against the system". If it left the committees in peace then it would remove much of the revolutionary ethos.

That too leads to problems. It is hard to envisage a time ever coming when the committee structure, no matter how stable

and orderly and peaceable, would actively co-operate with government in respect of civic administration. Whatever it might do in terms of establishing calm and control, it is surely going to represent a force for the end of white rule.

But there's going to be much the same amount of force to end white rule whether it comes from stones and necklaces or from elected leaders of coherent constituencies. Government's choice is not between pressure and no pressure, but between orderly pressure and chaotic pressure.

Right now its options are to try to snuff out the committees and entrench the power of the paraffin artists, or to live with the committees and do what it can to strengthen the democratic strain within them in opposition to the manipulative strain to which they risk falling prey.

The Civic Associations too might do some constructive self-examination. For one thing, are they aiming to be political parties or are they aiming to be sheer structures, like town councils? At the moment they are hybrids. They have no specific policy or programme and they profess to seek primarily the generation of democratic order — allowing full and free debate rather than insisting on a party line. Yet they are affiliated to the UDF, and they have "affiliation forms" of their own for individual members.

Thus, if they are genuinely aiming at simply providing a structure for democratic activity, they are also unnecessarily inflaming the Azapo/UDF conflict and setting themselves apart from everyone else who has no taste for playing a UDF game.

It's not easy for the SCA, with the police breathing down their necks at every turn, but nonetheless a good deal more strategic planning and public disclosure would seem to be in order. At the moment the level of public disclosure is all but nil and, unless there are some remarkably convincing actors in the hierarchy, it would seem that private planning is not much higher.

They could for instance offer guidelines of legitimate and illegitimate committee action; methods of balloting; systems of linking smaller and larger committees, etc.. At present most committees apparently consist of utterly inexperienced people finding their way entirely by feel. Many seem to have jammed at the point

of rigging up community defence systems, and the flow of constructive example from those who have gone further — into mutual commercial support, for example — is limited to happenstance conversations.

The potential is enormous, but so are the dangers. The committees stand, for instance, to offer a thousand times better administration of small-time justice than does the existing combination of outsider (and often unavailable) policeman and outsider magistrate. But without a broader order around them they can easily descend to kangaroo courts. Above all, there is the ever-present prospect of

thought-policing. Is the committee structure going to allow full voice to dissidents, even political dissidents; or is it to become a revolutionary Gestapo?

This question, like so many others, cannot be truly settled until the peculiar heat induced by minority rule has been done away with. But in the meanwhile, the torn and weary townships have hit upon the embryo of the only avenue yet in sight to materially advance the quality of their lives. If the warlords of either side destroy the process for political aims, they'll have even more to answer for than they already do.

/9317

CSO: 3400/788

BLACK POLICEMAN DESCRIBES ORDEAL

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Dec 86 pp 18-19

[Article by Hilton Hamman]

[Text] The police symbolise and personify "the system" in all clashes between establishment and radicalism. It's as true of South Africa as anywhere else--but generalisations are no consolation when you're black, a cop and a current target in the township. And when your own colleagues substitute lengthy procedure for timely redress you become bitter...as bitter as Templeton Sibaca.

THE South African Police were asked for their comments on the account given by W/O Sibaca.

Brigadier Jaap Venter, Officer Commanding the Public Relations Division, replied:

"Members of the Force whose property was destroyed or damaged in the unrest have been provided for through donations and interest-free loans from the Benevolent Fund. Donations have also been made by the NG Church's emergency fund.

"The State has in the meantime provided emergency housing for these members and

provision has been made for ex-gratia payments by the Treasury in which replacement values for destroyed property will be paid.

"However, before any payment can be made the member's claim must be properly assessed. This is normal practice, even in the private sector where any insurance company thoroughly investigates a claim before making payment.

"We will investigate this member's case at the highest level and if there is an administrative problem we will certainly take the appropriate action."

TEMPLETON Sibaca is the kind of black man whom whites like to classify "middle class". The kind of person big business and opposition politicians tell us we need to "create" if the "Black" problem in South Africa is ever to be solved.

The father of two school-going children, he has high hopes for them and the future. His wife holds down a good job, enjoying status and financial security. Sibaca has seen 17 years service with the same "firm" and many would consider the Sibaca family comfortable.

Yet Templeton Sibaca, aged 45, is a bitter man, ostracized by the community he feels he has faithfully served for almost 20 years and spurned by a tangle of bureaucratic red tape in whose cause he lost everything.

Almost 18 months ago, the Sibaca family were forced to flee, taking with them only the clothes they wore, while the community they still call their own torched their house and all their possessions. The crime? Templeton is a black policeman.

In a small office where the walls are plastered but not painted he talked, at first hostile but later almost nostalgic.

He told of how he had grown up on a gold mine in the area. Of how, after completing his schooling, he went to college and qualified as a teacher. But his passion for detective and police novels would not let him be and after five years of chalk and blackboards he had decided to call it a day in the classroom and enrol at the police college at Hammanskraal.

"At first I did not join the Force because I wanted to serve my community," he said. "I joined because I thought the job was exciting and I was interested. But as time went by I began to feel I was doing a worthwhile job. I was helping my people."

For seven years he did duty as a member of the Security Police.

"Things were different in those days," he said nostalgically. He paused for a few moments as he remembered those early, exciting times.

"Then the security branch was accepted. If we attended a meeting in the old days we would first introduce ourselves to the chairman who told the audience the security police were present."

Why did he leave the Spooks? His eye narrowed.

"My reasons are personal and I would prefer not to speak about them."

He would not be drawn further. I obviously touched a raw nerve. This is something he is not going to speak about to a stranger.

And so a transfer to the detective division where he felt he could be closer to the daily criminal problems facing "his people."

But things were changing. Black South Africa was metamorphosing. The signs were clear for all who took the trouble to read them. People like Templeton Sibaca were no longer seen by the community as having a place there. They were enemies, oppressors, enforcers of laws which had been universally condemned.

Yet Templeton Sibaca could not see it. He felt secure.

"Sure, I had heard the rumours. People told me some were planning to burn my house down and my family and I were in danger. But I did not believe it. How was it possible? I had known these people for years and they trusted me.

"I remember times when I was investigating a case and parked the car in the township. Youngsters playing football in the street would look after it for me; and

these were supposed to be the people who wanted to kill me? Impossible!"

And so when it happened, despite all the warning signs, it still came as a shock.

A week before, the daughters of two Duduza Civic Association members had died fiery deaths when their homes burnt down in petrol bomb attacks.

The township people were angry, very angry. The day before the funeral, at the night vigil, they summarily decided the police had been the attackers and that their homes be razed in retaliation.

"That Saturday morning I could see something big was going to happen," said Sibaca.

"In this job you learn to feel these things. People stood around on street corners just watching, all the time watching."

Sibaca decided the time had come to get his family out.

"I couldn't simply tell them to get into the car, that would have been far too risky," he said.

"I told them not to take anything. Just to climb over the back fence and meet me outside the township."

That afternoon a group broke away from the main funeral procession and in quick succession torched the homes of the black policemen in the township.

"You can have no idea how a person feels when he hears that everything he has worked for is being destroyed," he said. He was right, there was no way I could imagine it.

"The anger wells up inside you and wants to explode but there's nothing you can do.

"They burnt everything. Our furniture, our clothes, even my little daughter's dolls. My neighbours, the people I had lived next to for years helped them. Can you imagine that? They helped drag our refrigerator into the street where it and all our food was burnt.

"Explaining to my daughter was the most difficult. She kept asking, 'why? why?'

"How does a man tell his child that people were once his friends now want to kill him because of the job he does?

"I have always tried to do the best I could for my family. Sure, we were comfortable, but we worked for it. We owned a colour television and I had just bought a National video recorder. The refrigerator was always full and the children always had enough good food to eat.

"And suddenly it was all gone. In the space of a few minutes all we had left were the clothes we were standing in.

"Insurance? No, what did we need it for? These people were our friends."

Later, a woman in Johannesburg heard of their plight and sent R100.

"I gave it to my wife so she could buy clothes for the kids," he said.

The Police moved quickly. This was good stuff from a propaganda point of view. Soon the media was there.

"These people of ours who have lost their homes will be fully compensated," said a police spokesman to a sagely nodding SABC interviewer. Good stuff this. We look after our own. Man.

But as they say, "the road to hell" and all that.

"It's almost 18 months now and all we have are promises," said Sibaca.

"I don't think it is the police force itself but somewhere along the line something is breaking down.

"They interview you. God, how they interview you. But always it's the same. It's as though they think we burnt our own houses down.

"You have to sit there in front of an officer while he grills you.

"Hoe kan jy sé jy't 'n video? Ek's 'n Kaptein en ek het nie so ding nie. Julle will ryk word nê?"

"Nee, Kaptein, dis nie waar nie."

Scratched note on the side of the claim form before it goes into the "out" tray: "Die mense wil ryk word ten koste van die staat."

"How the hell do we handle that? They keep telling us, 'julle eis word ondersoek' but I'm the one who has to go home and lie to my wife and kids that everything is okay.

"How can I tell them that the organisation which I have worked for for so long and for which I lost everything now wants to know 'probeer julle ryk word'?"

"I don't want my family to turn around and say 'if you weren't a damned policeman this would never have happened' so I lie to them. When they ask, I say everything's fine, they're doing the best they can and soon our problems will be over."

But Templeton Sibaca knows he is over a barrel. It's a one-way ticket for him.

"No matter what happens, I can't leave. There is nothing else I can do now. The community will never accept me. I'm a policeman for the rest of my life."

In the meantime his son is completing his matric at a school in Natal. His daughter is in Standard 4 at a school in the township where the attack took place.

"Sure, I worry about her, but there is nothing I can do. She is staying with her grandmother and we think she'll be okay as long as the other pupils don't sell her out."

/9317

CSO: 3400/764

BUS BOYCOTT COSTING COMMUTERS MONEY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Jan 87 p 13

[Text]

Commuters in the black community are being hit with big additional expenses because of the continuing Putco bus boycott.

The boycott began in November when Putco announced 17,5 and 15 percent fare increases in the Transvaal and Natal.

Some members of the black community immediately opposed the increases, and announced buses must be boycotted from November 1.

So far the boycott has resulted in a loss of work by several hundred Putco employees, and an even heavier financial burden for the average township commuter.

Drivers and other workers have been retrenched, the latest batch being some 240 employees in the Transvaal.

And, said Putco's director of public relations, Mr Pat Rogers, speaking in a televised interview, it was likely more employees would be retrenched if the situation did not improve in the New Year.

Although Putco has lost hundreds of thousands of rands since November, commuters did not save the money, but spent it on taxis which have enjoyed unprecedented takings in the past three months.

There are more brand-new minibuses on the road nowadays than before. Transport is costing the commuter more than if he paid the increased bus fares.

The Pimville-city route is an example.

A Pimville resident working in Doornfontein would, paying the new increased bus fares, spend R7,50 on a season ticket valid for five days. He would use the ticket for going to work and coming back.

Since he must now use a taxi in compliance with the enforced boycott, he must pay exactly double in taxi fare what he would for a bus. This is because taxis do not sell season tickets and charge a standard fare for each trip.

From Pimville to Doornfontein a taxi charges R1,50 for a single trip. In the evening when the worker returns home he must pay another R1,50 — meaning every weekday he must put aside R3 to be spent on travelling to work.

A five-day week at work, therefore, means he will pay R15 in taxi fares — double the increased bus fares.

SOME MUST USE TWO TAXIS

In certain sections of Pimville there is no straight taxi service to town, which means the worker must pay for at least two taxis before he reaches the city. He will pay 70c from his township to the Baragwanath taxi rank and hop into another cab, which then costs him R1,30 to travel to the city. He will pay R20 for a week's fares.

People living in townships like Protea North pay R1,70 a single trip to town and those in Naledi pay R1,80 for a similar journey.

Buses normally run as far as Randburg and Sandton to the north of Johannesburg and Roodepoort and Krugersdorp in the West Rand, while taxis operate only as far as End Street in the city and turn back into Commissioner Street to begin the return trip to the townships.

For Soweto residents working in Roodepoort and Krugersdorp, Sandton and Randburg as well as distant suburbs like Rivonia, Wynberg, Steeledale and Rosebank it sometimes means at least three different modes of travel before reaching their jobs.

But commuters who complain about the large sums of money they must now pay in taxi fares blame the organisers of the boycott.

Says one man: "What these guys should have done was study the implications of the boycott before announcing it. After that they should have approached the taxi people and asked them to lower

their fares since there would be many more passengers using their service.

"As it is, bad organisation has now resulted in our paying extra sums of money to the taxis. Whatever the bus boycott was intended to save us has been lost."

A woman, who also refused to be named, said the taxi operators themselves should have noticed long ago that the boycott meant a bonanza for the mini-bus operators.

"They should have decided without being prompted that it was in the passengers' interests to lower fares. That way they could have demonstrated their solidarity with us and showed they were not interested in profits only."

The organisers of the bus boycott could not be contacted for comment.

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CSO: 3400/771

NEW REGULATIONS CLAMP DOWN ON ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION PLANS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Jan 87 p 13

[Article by Susan Fleming]

[Text]

Today is the first day of the school year for many, but for black pupils school begins on an uncertain and shaky note.

They were expected to resume classes today following calls by organisations representing pupils, teachers, parents, churches, the community and political groups.

The return-to-school call has come at a time when the Government has introduced stringent new emergency regulations to control the movement and actions of black pupils.

The new regulations are also aimed at squashing people's or alternative education.

Under the new regulations any person who contravenes the orders will be liable for a maximum fine of R4 000 or two years' jail.

According to the NECC's spokesman, Mr Eric Molobi, these regulations would place an enormous strain on pupils resuming classes.

The Bureau of Information refused to answer questions by The Star on whether the security forces would be used at schools. A bureau spokesman said the release of this information would "contravene the emergency regulations".

As schools open today, the relationship between the NECC and the Government has deteriorated. Communication between the two groups has broken down.

NECC negative, says Govt

The Government has strongly condemned the NECC, labelling it as a "negative" organisation with little support. The NECC has responded by calling these allegations "slandorous".

1987 had been earmarked as the year when People's Education would gain momentum.

The NECC planned to launch alternative history and English syllabuses in schools this term.

The Government has attempted to block this launch with the introduction of the sweeping powers in the new emergency regulations.

Attempts to squash people's education have been met with opposition from the NECC and other groups involved in the People's Education project.

The closure of 73 schools at the end of last year and indecision about whether they will be reopened for the new academic year has sparked deep concern.

The NECC, the United Democratic Front and student organisations such as the Transvaal Students Congress and the South African National Students Congress have demanded their reopening.

"The most sensible beginning for 1987 is for the DET to reopen all schools and allow our children to receive an education. The DET will do well to refrain from impeding the return to school," Mr Molobi said.

It depends on the parents, says DET

The DET has responded by saying the reopening of these schools depends entirely on the reaction of parents and the community.

The chief of public relations at the DET, Mr Job Schoeman, said discussions on this matter were being held countrywide between the department and parents and community groups.

"Only if the parents wish to have the schools reopened and if they are prepared to take responsibility for their children's behaviour will the schools be reopened," he said.

Mr Schoeman could not estimate how many of the schools closed last year would be reopened today.

Mr Molobi said he was unaware that the DET had approached the NECC or the committees established by the NECC countrywide.

"For example I know that the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee has not heard anything from the DET with regard to the schools closed in Soweto last year."

/9317

CSO: 3400/771

SOUTH AFRICA

OUKASIE RESIDENTS SAY DET MOVES SCHOOL

MB191655 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1646 GMT 19 Jan 87

[Text] Pretoria, 19 Jan, (SAPA)--"Foreign" pupils were apparently being sent to Oukasie's remaining two schools to cause problems, following the closure of a school there, the Department of Education and Training [DET] said today.

Oukasie representatives said today that the DET had "moved" one of the Brits townships two primary schools to the new township of Lethlabile without warning, causing overcrowding at the remaining primary school.

They charged that this was a political maneuver to force residents from Oukasie, 5 km from Brits, to move to the new resettlement area 25 km from the town.

But DET spokesman Mr Job Schoeman said in Pretoria that the Itumaleng Primary School had been closed after a survey had shown that the remaining primary school would accommodate all Oukasie's primary pupils.

Now it appeared however that children from outlying areas were being enrolled at the school "in an orchestrated attempt to cause problems" he said.

Mr Schoeman stressed that the school had not been "moved" to force Oukasie residents to go to the new township, but because a survey had shown that a sufficient number of pupils had already moved with their parents to Lethlabile.

Oukasie residents said there were still 10,000 people left in the township abolished by the department of Constitutional Development and Planning, while 5,000 had moved to Lethlabile.

Mr Schoeman said free school books were delivered to Oukasie today, but parents charged that they had already bought books because it appeared that the DET would not supply the books.

/12624

CSO: 3400/782

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

PUTCO RIDERSHIP DOWN--Johannesburg, 5 Jan, SAPA--The amount of passengers carried by PUTCO [Public Utility Transport Corporation] had been reduced by about 50 percent since the introduction of the boycott by commuters in the Soweto area, a spokeswoman for the company said today. She said it was difficult to assess to what extent the "large" reduction in use of the buses was a direct cause of the boycott, because most factories were still closed and schools only opened on Wednesday. Most of the factories closed are due to open next Monday. The spokeswoman conceded the boycott had been "partially effective," but added they were still running services in many parts of Soweto. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 0851 GMT 5 Jan 87 MB] /12624

ANC ALLAYING U.S. CONCERNS--Political observers at the ANC celebrations in Lusaka say the movement is allaying U.S. concern over communist influence in the ANC. (?This emerged from) remarks made by the ANC president, Oliver Tambo. They say the new direction taken by the movement makes clear its use of guerrilla violence, including the bombing of civilian targets. The ANC has urged restraint in its struggle against the South African Government, and says it is willing to discuss a future South Africa with State President P.W. Botha. Mr Tambo, who may not be quoted in South Africa, is to meet U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in Washington. [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 1600 GMT 8 Jan 87 MB] /12624

PAC CONCERNED ABOUT HUNGER STRIKE--The pan-Africanist Congress, PAC, of Azania, has expressed concern over the plight of one of its members. Comrade Jeff Masemola, who is on a hunger strike in a South African prison. Comrade Masemola, who is serving a life sentence under apartheid laws, began a hunger strike 33 days ago. A statement released by the PAC chairman, Comrade Johnson Mlaba, in the capital today said Comrade Masemola is critically ill. Comrade Mlamba called on the international community to exert pressure on the Pretoria regime for the release of all political prisoners. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 9 Jan 87 MB] /12624

BOPHUTHATSWANA SEEKS BOTSWANA RECOGNITION--Bophuthatswana, seeking diplomatic recognition as an independent state, has begun barring Botswana citizens from entering its territory. Analysts said the move 'choking' off Botswanian traffic on its routes to South Africa could threaten the nation

with economic collapse. The border clampdown apparently began yesterday when Bophuthatswana immigration officials turned back several Batswana. It followed an announcement last December by Botswana that the independent South African homeland had demanded recognition and threatened to block Botswana's exports and imports trade to South Africa. Botswana has until now refused to recognize Bophuthatswana; and analysts believe that the territory is acting at the instigation of South Africa. [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 10 Jan 87 MB] /12624

MASKED GUNMEN SHOOT UCASA PRESIDENT--Mr Steve Kgame, prominent Dobsonville councillor and president of the trouble-torn Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA) is fighting for his life at Baragwanath Hospital after being shot in his shop on Friday night. Four masked gunmen burst into his Dobsonville Hostel shop and fired two shots, one hitting Mr Kgame in the forehead and the other in the chest. The men then vanished into the darkness in their get-away car, leaving the former Dobsonville mayor in a pool of blood. He was rushed to hospital where he underwent an emergency operation. Police confirmed the shooting of Mr Kgame. They said Mr Kgame was shot at 10 pm on Friday at his Lapalioga restaurant in Dobsonville. He was then rushed to hospital where he is in a serious, but stable condition. Police said they were investigating and did not know the motives for the shooting, but did not rule out robbery or an attempted assassination. [Excerpts] [Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 Jan 87 p 1 MB] /12624

BLACK SCHOOL ENROLLMENT GOING WELL--Pretoria, 1 Jan, (SAPA)--Re-enrollment at black eastern cape schools -- which were hard hit by the stayaway action last year -- was progressing very well today, department of Education and Training [DET] spokesman Mr Job Schoeman said in Pretoria. Enrollment levels at higher primary and secondary schools exceeded 60 percent when they reopened today, he said. Schools could be filled by tomorrow, Mr Schoeman said. No unrest was reported to the department. Thirty six of the 60 schools closed by the DET last year reopened today at the request of parents. A further six would reopen soon, while parents from the 18 others would soon meet to discuss them being reopened. Mr Schoeman said over 1.8 million pupils was expected to register at the countrys 7,400 black schools this year. There were 1,817,500 black pupils last year. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1604 GMT 19 Jan 87 MB] /12624

ELITE BLACK HOUSING PLANNED--An ambitious R10-million black suburban housing development outside Pinetown of 200 luxury and individually designed homes is under way. The development has been initiated and managed by National Homes, a subsidiary of National Investment Corporation (NIC) which is 90 percent-owned by black shareholders. Fourteen houses are under construction and another 40 have been sold off-plan. The services and infrastructure for another 140 will be completed by middle of 1987. Ambrose Nzuza, chairman of NIC, says the houses are designed to the tastes and requirements of the prospective owner. "It is a complete departure from the traditional concept of black housing. The homes will grow together and form a unique community--a suburb not a township." The 200 bungalow-style houses, priced between R30 000 and R60 000, will be supported by a shopping centre and two schools. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Jan 87 p 1] /9317

COMMENTARY NOTES U.S. OPPOSITION TOWARD MOVE TO ANC

MB200521 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 20 Jan 87

[Station Commentary]

[Text] Up to now the American policy shift on the ANC has been surprisingly quietly managed, for a country that prides itself on subjecting official actions to the most intense public scrutiny. While Congress and the State Department have set about virtually reversing former policy, the media have displayed none of their usual enthusiasm for creating public debate on the implications of a change that affects fundamental premises of American foreign policy. Evidently that silence is now being broken. In Washington yesterday 34 conservative groups -- among them highly influential bodies -- were represented at a conference sponsored by the Coalition Against ANC-Terrorism. The purpose of the conference, led by a former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Jesse Helms, was to draw public attention to the nature of the ANC and protest against the policy change on it.

But the first big salvo was fired a day earlier, in an article in THE WASHINGTON POST. It came from Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, whose name has been mentioned as a possible vice-presidential candidate, and is no apologist for the South African Government. In her article she accused it of short-sightedly refusing to share power. About the ANC, however, she is unequivocal. The new consiliatory policy being followed by the State Department towards the ANC (she states) is undermining democratic elements in South Africa and reducing the chances for a peaceful solution.

Obviously any change in American policies on southern Africa has important repercussions for individual countries and the region as a whole. But the realities of the international power play in the region dictate that changes will also affect the United States itself in a much more profound sense. It is to this dimension that Mrs Kirkpatrick refers, in arguing that American foreign policy must make sense in terms of American values and interests. Her contention is that the present State Department approach does not make such sense. The department itself is aware of the ANC's close ties with the South African Communist Party, and Americans have learned -- in Nicaragua, Cuba and elsewhere -- what happens with broad coalitions in which Leninists have control. They establish Marxist governments.

Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick and others are concerned that the United States should not repeat past errors. Policies that have the potential for subverting the aspirations of entire peoples, and significantly weakening the United States as a world power, should not be allowed just to unfold quietly. If the State Department is going to adopt a policy of conciliation towards the ANC the American people have a right to be informed about the organization -- to know about its terrorist methods and Marxist affiliations.

If what is happening in America now is the start of a clearer and more knowledgeable public focus on the ANC as it really is, the development is to be welcomed. It is as important to supporters of democratic principles in South Africa as it is to Americans.

/12624

CSO: 3400/781

SOUTH AFRICA

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ASSESSES POST-APARTHEID SCENARIOS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by Robert von Lucius, datelined Ebenhausen, 15 December: "There Will Not Be Any Violent Overthrow of the Government in South Africa for Some Time. Moscow Proposes Guarantees for Whites."]

[Text] There will probably not be any violent overthrow -- a takeover of power by the black majority in South Africa -- for at least the next decade. The reason for this is that the preconditions that had always been present in the revolutions of this century, for instance in the Soviet Union, China, Iran and Portugal -- an army which defected to the other side or got out of the fight in the final stage -- are lacking in South Africa. This was the view of nearly all participants of a talk circle which discussed "black politics" in South Africa at the Foundation of Science and Politics in Ebenhausen. There would not likely be any apocalypse at least in the short or medium term. The foundation on Starnberger See -- a research institute which advises the federal government on political action possibilities from an independent perspective -- succeeded in bringing some of the best-known analysts of South African policy, including professors Heribert Adam, Theo Hanf and Hermann Giliomee, as well as the journalist Colin Legum, from South Africa, the United States and Western Europe together with representatives of the foreign ministries in Washington and Bonn, as well as people politically active in South Africa, such as Nthato Motlana, spokesman for the urban blacks in Soweto. The editor-in-chief of a Catholic weekly newspaper, Zwelakhe Sisulu, who was also to have participated, did not get a passport; he had been arrested in South Africa over the weekend.

A South African in exile in Ebenhausen is convinced that President Botha is currently the only white politician of importance who could maintain the backing of his white compatriots for further unpopular reforms. On the other hand, other participants at the talks, also white South Africans, did not believe that Botha would undertake further basic reforms for the time being. They thought he had reached the end of his willingness and ability for reforms. They expected Botha to step down after a parliamentary election which should take place between March and June of next year, as soon as the technical prerequisites for that, for instance drawing up boundaries for new constituencies, are concluded. Rumors from Botha's immediate surroundings in South Africa, on the other hand, have it that, different from what was the

case just a few months ago, Botha does not intend to step down, but wants to hold office several years more. He is said to be physically fresh, but mentally immobile. The appointment of former vice president Schlebusch as minister in the presidential office in early December was for the purpose of his taking office as a provisional president in the event Botha should suddenly become incapacitated, and keeping the power struggles among Botha's four conceivable successors, which are currently crippling government policy, away from Botha beforehand. The imprisoned nationalist leader Nelson Mandela is said to still be in a position to win most blacks over to a possible policy of reconciliation. But a black South African in Ebenhausen thinks this would have to happen very soon, or else it would no longer be conceivable for the ANC to be without communist influence. In numerous townships of urban black South Africans there are already "lawless areas," sometimes also called "liberated areas," from which the police have completely withdrawn. There are street and regional committees of young blacks there, as well as "people's courts;" but these are hardly still functional, as most of the leading committee members have been arrested under the state of emergency which has been in effect since June. There was also uncertainty at the conference as to what extent the African National Congress still had influence over these youths and the street committees.

While the ANC is seen by most Western observers as having close ties with the Soviet Union, Soviet African researchers have been restrained in their comments about it. Even though the ANC is the most important force in black South Africa, a solution would not be possible without other groups, particularly Gatscha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. Black South Africans in particular were surprised by these statements of a German and two American scientists who reported on several weeks of talks in Moscow. The scientists found more interest in white than black South Africa at the Africa Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The Soviet African experts mention Zimbabwe as a model for a future South Africa; they did not have any "theory of transition," nor did they have hardly any foggy and utopian concepts of a quick change, which is customary in Western thinking on South Africa. "Slogans" like armed struggle without compromise against whites or the establishment of a black government were "adventuresome plans" which led the masses away from the struggle for their independence and did irreparable harm to the "liberation movement." This is not to be read in a "rightist" document, but in the lecture of the deputy director of the Moscow Africa Institute, Gleb Starushenko, before a Soviet-African conference in Moscow in June of this year, which was reported on at Ebenhausen. At this lecture, which, however, does not tally with official Soviet African policy, Starushenko said there were possibilities of the groups approaching each other. For that purpose, the ANC could work out "extensive guarantees" for the whites, which could be put into effect after apartheid was abolished. The parliament could consist of two chambers: one on the basis of proportional representation and one, in which the four communities (population groups) are represented with right of veto. "Broad nationalization of capitalist property" would not be an indispensable prerequisite for a solution in South Africa. The deputy director of the Soviet Africa Institute said in his speech in

Moscow that "antiracist forces" could give appropriate guarantees. A peaceful solution to the conflict could be facilitated by falling back on international guarantees and selecting guarantors, respected international organizations and countries.

NATAL PFP, NRP AGREE TO ELECTION ALLIANCE

MB191808 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1803 GMT 19 Jan 87

[Text] Durban, 19 Jan, (SAPA)--The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the New Republic Party (NRP) in Natal had agreed to form an election alliance based on the acceptance by both parties of the recommendations of the Natal Indaba, the parties said in a joint statement issued in Durban today.

The Indaba consensus to which the parties had subscribed meant that "philosophical differences" which had hitherto existed between them had largely disappeared and an election alliance now could provide a concerted spearhead for the endorsement of enlightened reform policies by the white voters of Natal.

"We believe that such an endorsement can have a profound effect on future race relations in Natal and set the pattern for reciprocal endorsement in due course by other groups committed to peaceful negotiations and enlightened reform," Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the NRP, said in the statement.

They said they also believed that success for the alliance candidates in the coming election would be the "most powerful signal" which whites in Natal could send to the government.

They said in this way they would indicate their desire to move away from the "present political paralysis" which, they said, National Party policies had inflicted on South Africans at large.

The presence in the new white parliament of a numerically stronger and enlightened opposition would provide continued impetus for a process of real reform, they said.

To give practical effect to the election alliance, the parties had agreed on an arrangement in terms of which they would not oppose each other in any Natal constituency.

In terms of an agreement on division of constituencies, the NRP would contest seats in Mooi River, Umbilo, South Coast, Amanzimtoti and Point, while the PFP would fight Berea, Durban Central, Durban North, Greytown, Pietermaritzburg South, Pietermaritzburg North, Pinetown, Port Natal, Umhlanga, Umhlatuzana and Umlazi.

The parties had decided that all candidates would be committed to propagating the Indaba policy and process during campaigns and to continue pursuance of the same ideals after their election.

/12624

CSO: 3400/781

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS COMPOUND NEWSPAPER CONTROVERSY

Durban POST NATAL in English 24-27 Dec 86 p 4

[Commentary by Ameen Akhalwaya in My View column]

[Text]

THIS column is not (yet) the Government Gazette. So it brings you the news that's fit to print. Even if it has to be printed in way that makes it fit.

A blank space can't be printed to fit the news. But one thinks it fit to print what might be news to you.

If you haven't worked for a newspaper, this may be news to you: arguments are still raging in newspaper offices over the question of filling blank spaces.

The arguments are over what takes precedence: editorial or advertising. They have been raging since newspapers first accepted advertisements many years ago.

Now a new element has been introduced into the row in the form of the latest emergency regulations, which forbid publication of blank spaces or any obliteration or deletion to indicate that reports have been censored.

Traditionally, advertising executives and reps have argued that the function of reporters and photographers is to fill the blank spaces between ads.

Reporters argue that ads take up the valuable space in which their immortal words should appear.

Photographers claim that a picture is worth a thousand words, and the ads and articles needlessly take up the space in which their art can be properly displayed.

The advertising people say newspapers won't survive if they don't bring in the income from ads. Reporters say people buy the

product only because it contains their words of wisdom.

Photographers say most people buy a newspaper to look at their pictures, especially those that have a blank space where clothes would have appeared.

It's a tricky business. Most commercial newspapers let advertising take precedence.

This is how these newspapers work. When all the ads are in for an issue, the executives determine the number of pages of the newspaper according to the advertising volume.

Some newspapers have an advertising to editorial ratio of 90:10. The bigger the newspaper and the more it charges, the more money it makes.

Other newspapers that have little advertising have to rely on income from the cover price, or from benefactors. It is not unusual

for wealthy individuals or companies to pour money into newspapers to keep them alive.

Once the number of pages has been decided on, the ads are marked in, and the blank spaces left over are what journalists regard as the crumbs they have to fight over.

And it is not surprising that civil war often breaks out over who gets the biggest crumb.

The editors or their lieutenants decide how much prominence each story gets.

One journalist may have written a 1 000-word article on a striptease show. Another may have written a 1 000-word report on the outbreak of the Third World War.

Which report gets precedence usually depends on the type of newspaper it is written for. A serious newspaper would obviously go big on the war story and cut the striptease story to its bare essentials.

A mass-circulation newspaper, as a fleshy

flashy one is sometimes fondly called, would go big on the strip story, and have another little story with the headline: "War declared: strippers run for cover!"

But that doesn't end the newsroom war. A photographer may claim that his pin-up pic of a stripper would tell a thousand more words than the report — and sell more newspapers.

But another photographer could claim that his picture of the dooms-day mushroom cloud is historic and might sell more papers.

Then, of course, there is the question of manipulation of news items, be they articles, headlines, or pictures.

Say a newspaper has plenty of blank spaces and nothing much to fill them with. The manipulators in the production department, known as sub-editors, decide to blow up the sizes of pictures to fill the space.

Or they may put bigger headlines on the pages, or use bigger type sizes for articles. Or they may use plenty of

"white space" (that is, blank space) to get away from the "grey" image of too many words.

The reverse applies when there isn't much blank space to fill between ads. Pictures are smaller, so are headlines, so are the reports. And that's when reporters and photographers really get mad with the sub-editors and having lost the fight, they end up having a go at one another.

In newspapers, this is called "creative tension". The anti-sanctions, free-for-all enterprise crowd might call it "constructive engagement".

It might also be an onslaught of one kind or another.

Now another argument is looming over blank spaces, thanks to the emergency regulations. Just as well they have been banned, for if they did appear, another royal battle could break out between the rival factions in newspaper offices.

PERVASIVENESS OF CORRUPTION NATIONWIDE REVEALED

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Dec 86 pp 26, 27, 28

[Article by Jaap Boekkooi]

[Text]

CORRUPTION in South Africa has its own language, one overloaded with euphemism. When it was in the top, ministerial, league, (during the Information Scandal) the operative words were "lobbying", "defending South Africa", "patriotism" and the old "making friends and influencing people".

But that golden, ionospheric age of corruption seems to be past. Maybe sometime in the future a cabinet minister or director-general of a government department, a provincial administrator or leader of a tricameral house will be caught with pants down, but it is less likely than before.

Bitter, sensational lessons have been learned at the top. "Irregularities" now find a more regular place among the middle and lower orders.

This was, in fact, forecast in Mr Dennis Etheredge's famous attack on corruption in South Africa after the Information Scandal died down. The retired chairman of Anglo's Gold Division pointed out that the Info affair had involved very important people in public service and in business and had created the environment in which lesser people felt that corrupt practices at their level were, if not defensible, at least not without precedent.

Corruption is now settling down into a murky bog at the lower levels, permeating vast new areas of officialdom.

Shady apparatchiks whose power is in the pen and rubber stamp have developed a corruption-speak of their own.

"Pulling it off" refers to the practice of getting a roadworthy for your three-wheeled car with cross-eyed headlights.

This old dodge has a history of exposure — once by a Press photographer with gigantic telescopic lens who snapped the precise moment of cash hand-over at Johannesburg testing grounds. In a current case in Rustenburg it is claimed cars without engines were declared roadworthy.

Another magic phrase is "*doing a service*." You pay for the "service" if you want a Gazankulu driver's licence, a homeland passport or just to climb to the top of a housing waiting list.

A word used in black administration is "*bua*". It means 'to talk'. It has a nice, reasonable ring to it. The widow gets to the minor bureaucrat's office window and makes her request... for a house, for a necessary rubber stamp, or to wangle her son into a single hostel.

"Let's talk about it," says the bureaucrat with a heavy leer towards the cleavage. She knows what's coming. He will help her, but only after sleeping with her.

In strictly monetary terms, to simply join the housing queue the "*goodwill*" can cost R100 plus.

To secure a bed in a single hostel on the Rand is R300, and that's why young black men from the country are still sleeping in Johannesburg parks (walk through Emmarentia's botanic gardens at night) until they save that sum.

Driving licences without tests come cheaper.

One of the most persistent rumours concerns the "organising" of passports or residence permits via the Department of Home Affairs. Investigations are continuing but one characteristic of the "new" corruption is the clam-like silence of practitioners or those "in the know".

One of the better known media investigators who has been on the track of bigger fish in the graft industry says "institutionalised" lower-rank corruption involves the municipal or township clerk, the black housing superintendent, the road haulage people, the fund administrators and many more buried in modest management levels.

Corruption near the bottom of the pile remains largely uncovered. It takes something like Professor Tjaart van der Walt's one-man report on the cause of unrest to lift the veil. An unprecedented 55 prosecutions for corruption, especially taking bribes, resulted in the Vaal Triangle alone when the report came out.

The Van der Walt report made it clear the main problem in the Triangle was not school unrest, but "township rents first, and secondly, local authority corruption".

The Commission officially asked for a commission of inquiry to investigate all aspects of graft and maladministration in black townships. The Minister responsible, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, mentioned a possible judicial inquiry into corruption, self-enrichment and maladministration in January but no such enquiry has been set up yet.

Blacks live close to corruption. Every member of an extended family knows the considerations paid under the table for urban rights, housing allocations, and other "favours". Many black councillors and other system beneficiaries inflame their communities' sense of grievance by the wanton display of their new wealth — all acquired by the bribes, the sweeteners.

White miscreants tend to hide their ill-gotten wealth (one of the SABC officials exposed in the corporation's corruption probe piously planned to use misdirected building materials to build a church).

But ask blacks and they will show you high-living traffic inspectors and living legends like disc jockeys with no inhibitions about getting it, then flaunting it.

It is strange that the latter seem to have by-passed all investigations. The number of freshly-pressed records carried into

media offices yearly is enormous, and the resultant publicity is free, based on commercial puffery and of no intrinsic value.

The immediate past president of the South African Society of Journalists, David Allen, referred to corruption's thin end of the wedge in May when he admitted: "There are those from our own professional ranks who too readily accept the perk, the trip, the payment in whatever form in return for a story here, a mention there."

Some will say Allen only touches the tip of the iceberg. Share-pushing by finance writers, unacknowledged conflicts of interest and acceptance of favours for publicity have journalism in an ethical spin. White commerce faces parallel problems.

Chairman of the Central Business District Association, Nigel Mandy, says the infrastructure in bureaucratic inertia and obstruction can only be broken by moving from allocation practices, in their various forms, to a free market.

He adds: "There are persistent rumours of corruption in housing allocations and group areas permits. But I have no proof of this. But as anywhere in the world, if a junior bureaucrat can make decisions the temptation is likely to be towards corruption."

It may depend on one's own definition of "irregularity", but one could also add to the litany of corruption cases those instances of whites acting for payment as nominees for non-white, especially Asian, shopkeepers in white group areas.

Others, as Nigel Mandy points out, acted freely as nominees for reasons of conscience, and still other white nominees would argue that they took apartheid money because of the risk of criminal prosecution under the Group Areas Act, with its savage penalties and forfeiture of property from nominees caught in the act.

Even though the age of top government scandals appears past, members of the Cabinet are still at great risk. They are perceived to have great influence and ability to "swing" or cover up deals, concessions, permits.

Well-known victim of that perception was Minister of Labour Fanie Botha, who sank in an ocean of debt. Best recent example of the syndrome was that of Hennie van der Walt, former Deputy Minister of Land Affairs and the MP for Sannieshof.

Like Botha, van der Walt mixed politics and private business — a volatile mix.

Eventually, he plundered trust funds in his attorney's practice, using the names of National Party leaders John Vorster and Connie Mulder to claim he was to be paid R300 000 for a security project. As one witness, a dominee, put it: "I believed him because he was a Deputy Minister, and because he was due to be paid R300 000 as a secret agent."

The Cassandra of corruption in South Africa, who lifted the lid on local graft repeatedly during the early 80s, was Dennis Etheredge, now chairman of Thomson Publications. He no longer gets

reactions to the charges made as president of the SA Institute of Management.

Mr Etheredge stunned fellow executives by stating openly that business and public administration in South Africa was "shot through with dishonesty". Later he repeated the allegations and added that graft in business, local authorities, boards, public service and para-statal organisations was more widespread than he had realised.

The Etheredge charges don't seem to raise eyebrows any more.

Are we all learning to live with the "system" or has cynicism just taken toll of moral outrage?

[Boxed item p 27]

Potential payola with permits

ONE field of potential payola is road haulage, what with SATS' monopoly and subsidies, the Railway Police confiscating trucks, and the thriving black market in transportation permits.

Jack Webster, chief executive of the Public Carriers' Association, says that some hauliers pay up to R20 000 under the counter for a loosely worded permit that allows a carrier to transport higher-rate goods.

One example quoted in industry gossip is of the haulier whose permit specified "coke" and ended up transporting higher-profit Coca Cola. Others were able to upgrade goods by a missing or wrongly placed comma in the permit specification.

With legislation still expected this year, the unmourned permit system should be on its way out by next year or 1988.

[Boxed items p 28]

SOUTH Africa is becoming a typical Third World country with characteristics such as unrest, low growth and a population explosion.

So said Mr Christie Kuun, president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, last month.

One thing the country still lacked was Third World corruption. As Mr Kuun said it, you could hear a chorus of "Ahems!" round the country.

THE embassy security man met me at the gate in an oriental city. "It takes three days to get a visa for my country," he whispered, "but I can get it for you by tonight for 10 dollars. OK?"

Back at six, he took me behind a palm tree in the embassy garden, handing over the passport. "You don't think this is a bribe?" he asked somewhat anxiously as I handed over the greenback.

I thought of the high hotel bill for another two nights' wait, then said firmly: "Oh, no bribe ... just a service."

/9317
CSO: 3400/787

BRIEFS

NRP DEFECTIONS CONTINUE--The New Republic Party [NRP] is still suffering a rush of defections. This is despite yesterday's formal announcement of the Natal election alliance between the party and the Progressive Party. Carmel Richard has more: [Rickard] The pact applies to Natal where the PFP and the NRP have agreed not to contest each other in any seats, with the aim of electing an Indaba candidate in every constituency. But following the announcement the spate of resignations plaguing the NRP has continued. The latest batch of defections come from the Umhlathuzana constituency where all members of the NRP committee have resigned. Commenting on the defections, Natal leader of the NRP, Derrick Watterson, said while the party had thousands of signed-up members, resignations had come from only a few dozen. By far, the majority were delighted with the alliance. Leaders of the two parties said the pact would result in another (?indication) to the ruling National Party that the people of Natal were no longer prepared to put up with paralysis in true reform. [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 0700 GMT 20 Jan 87 MB] /12624

PFP ENDS BOYCOTT--The Progressive Federal Party has officially called off its stay away from the President's Council. The three PFP members of the council, Mr Robin Carlisle, Mr Peter Schoeman, and Mr James Rennie, say in a statement issued in Cape Town that they will resume their attendance of plenary sessions to, as they put it, force discussions on the Group Areas Act and to inform the public of what is happening in the country. They withdrew from participation in the activities of the council last year after the steering committee refused to allow a debate on the withdrawal of a report on the Group Areas Act. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0900 GMT 20 Jan 87 MB] /12624

CSO: 3400/781

GOVERNMENT BLAMED FOR SHRINKING RAND

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Jan 87 p 13

[Article by Michael Chester]

[Text]

The buying power of the cash in your pocket has shrunk by more than 55 percent in seven years and the R1 coin of 1980 may be worth no more than 35c by the end of 1987.

Disclosures of the dramatic erosion of the consumer value of the rand have emerged from studies by the Econometrix research unit. They underscore the mounting concern of economists over South Africa's failure to follow the lead of its Western trading partners in finding solutions to rampant inflation.

The director of Econometrix, Dr Azar Jammie, believes, because of debatable weaknesses in the composition of official statistics, the full degree of shrinkages to the rand may be even worse than the cuts reflected in the consumer price index (CPI).

Even the CPI concedes that a basketful of household items that cost R100 in 1980 now costs around R240 with the annual rate of inflation running close to 20 percent.

The result is that the purchasing power of the rand has toppled from R1 in 1980 down to 44c, with a deeper slide threatened as economists despair about the inflation spiral and the long-term impact on living standards.

Dr Jammie blames Government mismanagement of fiscal and monetary policies as the main cause of inflation.

He said: "The Government has made a hash of it ever since it wasted its opportunity to set the economy on a dynamic new course in the early 1980s when an avalanche of money came into the country with the wild climb of the gold price above \$850 an ounce.

"Instead, it allowed and encouraged a mindless explosion in buying on credit as the money supply spun out of control.

"The way the private and public sectors permitted wages to gallop higher without any commensurate increase in productivity is also to blame," he said.

"The ambition to start closing the wage gap between white and black employees was commendable, but the error was the failure to find simultaneous remedies for South Africa's dreadful productivity record.

"The numerous structural faults in the economy are well known, but the private sector must carry part of the blame for our present inflation headaches.

Dr Jammie said: "The temporary boom at the start of the decade set in motion a massive movement towards bigness in business, with big corporations growing even bigger through a succession of takeovers of smaller companies and the emergence of massive concentrations of corporate power.

"It's a controversial issue, but I am convinced the sheer size of business enterprises can cause hiccups in classical economic theory.

"Theoretically, when demand falls, as in the prolonged

recession we have been in, prices should come down to bring demand and supply back into equilibrium.

"Unhappily, it is obvious that many giant corporations, rather than reduce prices, have simply resorted to reductions in production volumes, hoping high prices will balance lower sales volumes. However, they have caused more unemployment and loaded the problems elsewhere.

"Several companies in specific industrial sectors, such as the motor industry, would have been forced to make different decisions on prices had they not been under the umbrella of huge conglomerates that virtually guaranteed their survival whatever their strategies," he said.

"There's a weird mixture of causes for all our inflation woes. But in the final analysis it is the Government that must shoulder the bulk of the blame because of its poor performance in economic management on so many scores."

/9317

CSO: 3400/772

JOB OPPORTUNITIES SCARCE AS THOUSANDS ENTER JOB MARKET

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 4 Jan 87 p 1

[Article by Udo Rypstra]

[Text]

JOB opportunities for the 1986 batch of school-leavers and graduates have dwindled.

Many job-seekers — especially those with few skills — will be knocking on closed doors for some time to come.

"No-vacancy" signs have gone up in both the private and public sectors. Standard and Barclays banks are turning applicants away or putting them on waiting lists.

Many Government departments, including the police, completed their recruitment drives some time ago. They will recruit from time to time this year "as the need arises".

The Post Office confirms an oversupply of potential employees and says it has only a few vacancies for male clerks.

Too late

Drake Personnel says it has experienced problems in finding suitable work for pupils matriculating from its Drake College.

The prospect of obtaining a job are especially bad for school-leavers and graduates without some knowledge of finance, data and word processing, engineering and shipping because these areas are the "niches" in the employment market where there are still vacancies.

The mining industry has vacancies for technically minded people, but Escom says its requirements in this regard have long been met.

"People are still applying for bur-saries," an Escom spokesman says, "but they have left it far too late."

Unskilled

Economists say that against a background of a continuing low growth rate and an unemployment crisis — 2-million people are believed to be out of work — the economy is incapable of accommodating the 300 000 job-seekers expected to enter the labour market in 1987.

Signs of how greatly the economy has shrunk come from the construction, and metal and engineering industries which have reduced their work forces by respectively 75 000 and 175 000 in recent years.

What makes the outlook worse is that as a result of sanctions, 2-million jobs will have been lost by the year 2000. Instead of 10-million people, the economy will employ only 8-million. The current work force is 7,7-million.

Virtually all the losses will be in unskilled categories, and the number of jobs for people with skills — for example, accountants and computer personnel — will increase, particularly if the so-called brain-drain continues.

Rudolf Gouws, group economist of Rand Merchant Bank, describes work opportunities for school-leavers and graduates as "exceptionally weak" this year because of the low economic growth rate. He is worried about the plight of unskilled and semi-skilled blacks.

Mr Gouws says: "Half of the black population is 16 years old and younger, and that is a frightening statistic."

Employment agencies advise school-leavers and graduates to seek on-the-job training with large firms. If unsuccessful, they are advised to seek training in financial, computer, gold-mining and service industries.

Calls have also gone out to technicians from major employer organisations that they desegregate technical courses for blacks and whites to speed up training of Blacks.

The Government is worried about the unskilled unemployment crisis and has stopped foreign recruitment campaigns. Immigrants were granted permanent residence at the rate of more than 1 000 a month 18 months ago. The number fell from 14 000 for the first nine months of 1985 to 5 355 in the comparable time last year.

Creeping

The Department of Home Affairs says it is tracing illegal immigrants and is liaising with the Department of Manpower to assess which categories of professional and skilled people are still required from abroad.

The Department of Manpower is training the "up-and-coming" labour force in skilled and semi-skilled jobs, many of which would normally have been filled by recruiting foreigners.

Economists praise the department's efforts, but believe the Government's creeping pace of deregulation and privatisation is retarding the creation of jobs.

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

BLACK-WHITE WAGE GAP--Significant disparities in blacks' and whites' salaries in a range of industries still exist, a Central Statistics report shows. White officials at the control boards earned an average salary of R2 374 a month late last year, while blacks earned R443. Whites in the motor trade earned R1 556 (against R384). White hotel employees earned an average of R901 (R263). In the retail trade, whites earned R968 (R366) while in the wholesale sector, whites were paid R1 933 a month (R413). Income for coloured and Asian people ranged in between these levels.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 7 Jan 87 p 3] /9317

CSO: 3400/772

R4 ASSAULT RIFLE CAPABILITIES PRAISED

Pretoria SALVO in English Nov/Dec 86 p 7

[Text]

FOLLOWING recent allegations about various shortcomings in the performance of the R4 assault rifle, Armscor, in conjunction with members of the SADF, arranged a firing test between this rifle and four others.

Together with the soviet AK47, the R1 and the American M16, the R4 was fired under various conditions by non-biased experienced end-users to determine its effectiveness against that of the other rifles.

The tests included firing each rifle at concealed targets from a moving vehicle, and at a quarter-inch armour plate from about 35 metres. It is interesting to note that the R4 that came out on top each time.

The Defence magazine, *Armed Forces* recently wrote the following about the R4. . .

"Usually a number of standard points are raised about the alleged limitations found in the 5,56 calibre, one being its inaccuracy over long ranges. The rifle now being generally adopted by the armies of the world, as has just been done by the British, is the 5,56 mm

calibre. It is designed for battlefield conditions and generally performs well up to 300 metres. This is the military requirement set by the various armies who no doubt have considered all the factors before making this decision."

Concerning deflections of the bullet by light vegetation, *Armed Forces* wrote: "Scientists at our Council for Scientific Research find that they too are in the dark on this aspect of the characteristic of the 5,56 mm calibre bullet. There are no known scientific tests available in the RSA relating bullet deflection by foliage.

"What I do know about is the possible reaction by a man hit by a bullet. We read about an allegation that one of the terrorists involved in the Silverton Bank incident continued to fire after being hit in the abdomen by two bullets fired at close range from a 5,56 mm. In the Silverton incident I understand that an autopsy showed that the terrorist was clinically dead after the first hit. Firing after being hit is often what the medical profession calls a reflex action."

The accompanying photographs provide further evidence of the R4's capabilities.

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CSO: 3400/743

ARMCOR'S CLUSTER BOMB DESCRIBED

Pretoria SALVO in English Nov/Dec 86 p 11

[Text]

Armcor's locally developed CB470 Cluster Bomb System features highlights which make it a unique weapon. The air bursting cluster bomb system is designed and proven for delivery as low as 30 m above ground level in the speed range of 850 – 1 100 km/h (460-600 knots). Forty 6 kg bomblets are ejected from a container to provide an optimised distribution pattern on the ground. Bomblets bounce off all surfaces including mud and water and detonate typically between 3 m and 5 m above impact points, dispersing lethal shrapnel in all directions. Built-in safety features ensure safe handling and use under all kinds of situations. This highly cost-effective system is unsurpassed in performance against a great variety of targets and has a lethal coverage of 250 m x 70 m.

The reliable system is immune to enemy electronic interference. It requires low maintenance and fits most military aircraft. The cluster bomb contains a number of built in features which provide additional safety against

accidental damage to the delivery aircraft by fragmentation from the bomblets.

Typical targets for this system are personnel, buildings, light installations like radar, anti-aircraft and refineries. It can also be applied successfully against soft skin vehicles, parked aircraft and small boats.

The basic technical details are as follows:

Mass	450 kg
Overall length	2 600 mm
Overall body diameter	419 mm
Distance across tail fins	640 mm
Bomblet mass (fuzed)	6,5 kg
Number of bomblets	40
Suspensions Points	Twin-lug Nato STD or 250 mm Warsaw Pact Twin-Lug STD
Packaging and Marketing	To suit user's requirements
Release height	30 – 300 m
Release Speed Range (At 30 m Height)	850 – 1 100 km/h (460 – 600 knots)

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CSO: 3400/743

GRINAKEE ELECTRONICS' ACHIEVEMENTS DESCRIBED

Pretoria SALVO in English Nov/Dec 86 pp 15-20

[Text]

When frequency hopping military radios were announced to the world in 1978, a little-known South African company was catapulted directly into the international defence limelight.

That company was Grinaker Electronics Pty Ltd, or Grinel – a name which has become synonymous with innovation.

In less than 20 years Grinel has carved a niche for itself as a world leader in the military and civilian electronics communications industry. During that time it has developed products which not only astounded the world with their innovation and technical excellence, but placed South Africa on the world map as a manufacturer of high technology, high quality equipment.

Bob Raggett, expert writer on electronics for the authoritative Jane's defence publications, wrote this in 1983: "The SADF was one of the first operational forces to use frequency hopping radios . . . the latest generation of products which, in the field of HF hopping, are among the most advanced currently available from any manufacturer."

The key to Grinel's success during the past 20 years probably lies in the importance the company attaches to research and development.

It spends almost 12 per cent of annual turnover on R & D, making it one of the largest privately-owned research and development units in South Africa. This commitment has resulted in regular breakthroughs and technological advancements which have often been of world class.

"So much so that the success of our exports are due directly to the fact that we can offer the world at large new products, with new innovations, which were and are unavailable from anyone – and that in spite of politics," said Mr Tienie Steyn, chairman of Grinel.

Mr Steyn, who is also chairman and managing director of Grinaker Electronics Holdings, Grinel's holding company, is very proud of the fact that Grinel won the Armscor Marketing Award for two years running, and this year several Grinel marketing

employees were nominated for the Armscor Chairman's Marketing Award.

Grinel was originally formed to specialise in defence products. Today, the company is primarily engaged in the design, development and manufacture of high grade communications and specialist electronic equipment. Among the successful commercial products it has also developed are underground communications systems, electronic threat recorders and radio telemetry systems. Although defence contracts still dominate the company's activities, Grinel's commercial product base is being continuously broadened.

Grinel is part of the Grinaker construction group of companies. The divergence between construction and electronics strikes one immediately. However, the competent way in which Grinel goes about its business has, earned the respect of its parent – to the extent that today it is given a vast amount of freedom to concentrate on the business at hand – electronics.

"We have at least one thing in common with our parent company – silicon," quips Mr Steyn. "We use a few grammes a year in our industry (for silicon chips), while they use many thousands of tons. But that is where the similarity ends."

When Mr Steyn rejoined the company in 1980 (see separate story) Grinel was a company that had been "technology driven" in the previous decade or more.

"This meant it had been concentrating on developing products which, although

with merit, were researched because they were interesting. A product would be developed and then taken to the marketplace," said Mr Steyn.

This emphasis shifted subsequently towards marketing – and the company began developing products which satisfied the needs of the customers in that marketplace.

"I was fortunate in that my predecessors had developed a pool of knowledge at Grinel with which we could satisfy those market needs. The company has always been renowned for the innovative thinkers who formed the nucleus of the team.

"I won't say I inherited the golden egg. Rather, I inherited the goose!" according to Mr Steyn.

It was also after 1980 that Grinel – although it had exported its first radios back in 1969 – put into position a three-pronged diversification programme. This programme, which was marketing driven, consisted of:

- ★ Selling old products to new customers;
- ★ Developing new products for old customers; and
- ★ A combination of both the above, i.e. new products to new customers.

"In other words, market diversification, product diversification and conglomerate diversification.

"For market diversification, read export programme. That we started in earnest in 1980, and in percentage terms it has grown phenomenally. What is significant about the trend is that in five years or so our exports will be bigger than our local business – and that's the only way we're going to sustain an electronics industry in South Africa, by finding markets elsewhere – because our own market is too small to support such an industry. Here I must give credit to Armscor for the support and encouragement it has given our company, not only in the development programmes we have undertaken, but also for the foresight it displayed in encouraging the establishment of a local defence electronics industry.

"Secondly, we developed new products, such as radar warning receivers, electronic warfare equipment

and systems which we could sell to our old customers.

"Finally, we took new products to new customers – like the mine radio, which can communicate through 300 m of rock, and a telemetry system we developed for the Railways, that gives the driver of a kilometres long train vital information relating to brake pressure."

The success of this marketing approach can be measured in financial terms – since 1980 the electronics group's turnover has increased six-fold, according to Mr Steyn.

"This type of growth is vital for a high-technology company like ours because, the moment you stop growing, you stop attracting the right kind of people. It is an essential part of our business plan to continue to grow at a fairly high pace so that we can attract the best brains in the country," said Mr Steyn.

But these financial achievements would not have been possible without very dedicated people, according to Mr Steyn.

"We are lucky to have very innovative thinkers working for us," said Mr Steyn.

Soon after taking over the hot seat at GEH Mr Steyn also introduced a major programme to establish participative management as a culture within Grinel.

"It has given our people a tremendous boost in morale and they have begun to feel part of the company, instead of merely being workers. Although we haven't yet quite achieved full acceptance at all levels, the majority of our employees have risen to the challenge and accepted that responsibility."

As is the case in any successful business today, it is the client that is king as far as Grinel is concerned.

But to keep the "king" happy, the product you offer him must be of top quality and be to his satisfaction.

"A further element of our business philosophy is that we regard the entire lifecycle of the product as our responsibility. So that when we design, we design for reliability and serviceability – and in addition provide a service back-up in the field as well."

An example of this approach can be seen in the design of the latest radio

communications equipment, which forms part of the recently-announced Defence Communications Network.

"The customer decided, before investing in a new communication system for High Frequency communications, he wanted the assurance that whatever he bought remained 'state-of-the-art'. We knew that we had no way of knowing what 'state-of-the-art' is going to be, even a year from now. In the electronics industry things move very fast. To answer that question was literally impossible," said Mr Steyn.

"We concurred that, first of all, the advances in the state of this particular art were going to be component technology, rather than anything fundamental. Radio communications is about the oldest art in electronics and the last major advance was frequency hopping. Grinel has certainly not had a major breakthrough in high frequency communications since then, and neither has anyone else in the world.

"The only thing we did know was that components were going to get smaller – and we decided to apply a basic idea used in computer manufacturing: The radio itself (the main frame) would remain a constant factor, but the circuitry inside would be made modular making it easy to replace as technology advances. Here we have created something which really satisfies the basic requirement. Our customer will not have to throw away the radios once they become outdated. We'll give them new innards as the art develops.

"There have been two basic spin-offs resulting from this approach. Firstly, serviceability. The faulty module can be replaced immediately, giving the equipment maximum up-time at the front where the soldier depends on it.

"Secondly, it has enabled Grinel to make remarkable strides in terms of the reliability of equipment. Where it is accepted internationally that sophisticated electronic equipment used in a military environment can be expected to operate an average of 2 000 hours between failures, certain of Grinel's equipment has been tested successfully for over 10 000 hours.

"All this is important to us. If a radio fails it can cost not only one life, it can cost a number of lives.

"It is this approach, where quality of design and viability of design are part and parcel of our philosophy, that has enabled Grinel to manufacture the reliable products it does."

Always warmly enthusiastic . . . always proud.

In fact, Tienie Steyn is himself one of Grinel's "lost sons".

He left Grinel in 1969 while Chief Engineer to start the operations of the computer giant Hewlett Packard in South Africa. But he contends that this sojourn with Hewlett Packard was merely a training ground for him before returning to the fold at Grinel in 1980. During this period he learnt good business systems and good business philosophy, collecting a degree in business leadership along the way.

A marketing expert who knows what he wants, Mr Steyn is more proud of the team's successes than his own. But it is his style as a raconteur which leaves the lasting impression. In short, he is one of those quotable executives.

An open door addict, he is "supremely available" to his people at all times – "Lord! protect me from those who want to protect me!"

"What has made Hewlett Packard and IBM great is also present in Grinel – the switched-on people, the quality of minds. All we have to do is create a suitable environment for this to flourish in. At the risk of sounding immodest, I believe this company is going to be a major international business in time to come. It won't be in my time. Somebody else is going to achieve that. But I repeat, we have the seeds of success right here. There is no doubt about that."

Grinel's product range and the technologies used in these products say much for the achievements of this young and vibrant company.

Grinel (Waltloo and Durban) employs about 1 000 people, 15 per cent of whom are involved in Research and Development. The production facility at Waltloo provides jobs for about 400 operators who are assisted by supervisors and all the important and related support services, such as quality assurance.

Grinel is part of Grinaker Electronics Holdings, part of the Grinaker Group. The controlling company, Grinaker Holdings Limited, is part of the Anglovaal stable.

In 1963 the founding company joined the Racal group and became the largest and most successful overseas entity in that group, particularly in the field of technical innovation. That team now forms the nucleus of Grinel's Research and Development expertise.

Today Grinel's production and research and development activities cover a wide range of advanced high technology communications equipment including underground communications, HF, VHF, UHF and beyond, as well as tropospheric scatter, meteor scatter, microwave and data transmission systems.

Current development activities include agile frequency (hopping) HF/SSB and UHF/SSB radio, avionic equipment, speech security devices, telemeters and hand held data terminals. The latest microprocessor, integrated circuit and thick film techniques are incorporated in equipment designs.

Some of its products are:

- ★ Advanced HF Frequency Hopping Tactical Radios. The applications for this wide range of voice transmission equipment lies in manpack and mobile radio communication systems;
- ★ Secure Data Communications. The development of data terminals, such as the Data Entry Terminal and the Tactical Data Terminal ensures reliable and secure transmission of alpha numeric information and messages by High Frequency, Very High Frequency/Ultra-High Frequency radio or telephone lines;
- ★ Commercial products such as the mine radio, which is capable of communicating through 300 m of rock. This equipment has been licensed for manufacture overseas and carries the stamp of approval of various international authorities in for use in "intrinsically safe" situations.

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CSO: 3400/741

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